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LLOYD GEORGE losing his grip? So the London correspondents are reporting. Then it is for the thousandth time. True, he shows increasing nervousness. He has tipped off the country to prepare for a general election, and, within a week, he twice bitterly assailed the British Labor Party, which he now denounces as dangerously revolutionary and possessing a damnable new party discipline which makes the corporals of its army the leaders. The Labor Party, it appears, is a deadly menace, "worse than the war-peril," and bent on destroying the whole social system. Again, as to Ireland the Premier cannot hide his uneasiness. The policy of ruthlessness, reprisals, and revenge is not getting ahead somehow. We have almost a confession of failure on the part of the infallible one, but he sees clearly that the blame for the continuing bloodshed rests not upon him, but upon the Irish leaders. Not one of these, he tells us, has the moral courage "to face his people and tell them that, for the sake of Ireland, he was going to abandon certain demands which it was impossible for the British Government to concede." Well, Lord North's ministry would likewise not concede; it had no patience whatever with the miserable American leaders who asked the impossible. The difficulty with the Opposition remains that there is no single big leader available to confront Lloyd George, still the most dexterous opportunist and the most skilful political acrobat of modern times.

SECRETARY HUGHES did not finally close the door on trade with Russia but he left open such a narrow crack that it will be difficult for a self-respecting government to squeeze through. Trade will depend upon the establishment of the economic bases of production; and these will depend, according to the economics of Mr. Hughes, upon several things, among which is prominently numbered "firm guaranties of private property." Mr. Hughes's economic theory may be right or wrong, but when he goes up to a socialist government and says in effect "You are all right except that you seem to be a little bit socialistic in your behavior," the chances are that the socialist government will laugh in a rude way and reply, "You don't say." Private property may be receiving a little unwilling consideration in Russia these days, but it will be a long time before it is again made the basis of Russia's economic life, and if it ever does become the dominant factor that it was under the old regime it will not, we are ready to swear, be due to the exhortations of Mr. Hughes. Meanwhile this Government's protestations of "deep sympathy and grave concern" are likely to be regarded in much the same light as those of the well-famed walrus.

MOST cheerful and optimistic reports on our business situation are, we hear, being given to President Harding by some of our leading captains of industry. Mr. Ford, too, thinks we are over the worst. But business itself belies these encouraging tales. In the East, at least, Mr. Harding's accession to power resulted in none of the miracles Republicans have the reputation of performing merely by entering the White House. So great is the prostration of business, so grave the situation of our railroads, we heartily wish the good news given to the President could be trusted. But unemployment steadily increases and one problem after another—not the least that of the Shipping Board, which is facing a deficit of no less than half a billion dollars—thrusts itself upon the unfortunate President. To his own satisfaction Mr. Harding has, however, mapped out his legislative policy. The anti-dumping bill and the emergency protection for farmers are to be enacted with a rush, while changes in taxation are to await the outcome of the efforts of the Treasury to induce our Allies to pay the $500,000,000 a year interest on their loans which they owe us. Only one thing, and that rather amusing, darkens the legislative sky for the protectionists. More than a score of legislators have informed Mr. Harding that they are going to get their feet into the trough and are going to introduce their own bills placing embargoes on any number of agricultural products and manufactures. Mr. Harding, firm advocate of protection, is spending all his time trying to prevent these interferers from feathering each their several nests. And yet there are those who envy Mr. Harding his job!

NOTHING can surpass the cleverness of Paris these days. Here is fresh proof of it:

[By the Associated Press]

Paris, March 25.—Official circles here regard the Communist uprising in Germany as "spurious," basing their judgment on dispatches.

But, surely, the Germans are entitled to some credit for their ability as moving-picture producers. It takes some nerve to blow up historic municipal buildings and kill forty or fifty fellow-citizens and further to disrupt business life in certain sections. But then there are no limits to the


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Machiavellian intrigues of Berlin. They are—in Parisian eyes—quite capable of killing Ebert and all his Government to avoid paying the indemnities. Yet if they should pay under duress should we not have further proof of their cringing contemptibility?

WE had almost written that nothing more horrifying has come out of the South of late than the wholesale murders of Negro peons on the farm of John Williams, the Jasper County, Georgia, farmer, but then we remembered some of the recent lynching horrors with all their fiendishness. It now appears that some eleven or more Negro slaves were killed by Williams and one Negro assistant, out of fear because charges of peonage had been made against Williams and Federal agents were investigating his plantation. What did it matter if there were eleven "niggers" less if Williams succeeded in hiding the traces of his wrong-doing? Well, against such a wholesale massacre we shall doubtless have some Southern protests. But no pulpit and no newspaper will, we fear, ring with denunciation of the semi-slavery throughout the South in which the rural Negro usually lives. If it were not for Federal interference the practice would go on undisturbed. No Southern newspaper has yet begun a crusade against a slavery the like of which is not to be found in any other civilized state. When in Arkansas in 1919 there was an effort of some law-abiding Negroes to free themselves economically under guidance of a white attorney, they were immediately attacked by whites and the report that a Negro rebellion was on was sent all over the country. There was an economic rebellion under way and the powers that were in Arkansas decided to stop it there. But it cannot be stopped.

OUR American Negroes are among the most law-abiding people in the world but they are fast being driven to desperation. The news from Jasper County will steel many a heart. It is unfortunately true that the doctrine of opposing force with force and violence with violence is making rapid headway among them North and South. Against this *The Nation* will use all the influence it may have among the colored people, whose battles it began to fight with its first issue. But they know that in the South they are literally enslaved in State after State as on John Williams's plantation. Not until the war exodus frightened them did the Louisiana and Mississippi planters' associations agree to give their black tenants a yearly written accounting, and even now that cannot be had by hundreds of thousands who labor and labor and never get out of debt to their white masters. The case of John Williams should be a warning to the South. If it does not begin to put its house in order and to give economic justice and freedom to its colored citizens it will some day pay a terrible price. The white Czars once thought the Russian serfs would never rise. Twice now have the serfs set themselves free. Were the Negro not the patient long-suffering person he is the South would be a shambles today. What other people would peacefully endure their exclusion from all courts save as criminals, their taxation without representation, and their being barred from every participation in government, and then stay quiet in the face of such horrors as the burning of Henry Lowry, so graphically described by William Pickens in a recent issue of *The Nation*, and the wholesale murders in Jasper County?

THERE is just one point of consequence involved in the action of the New York County Chapter of the American Legion in its expulsion of Lieut.-Col. Alexander E. Anderson because of his participation in a meeting to protest against the use of African troops by the French in the occupied regions of Germany. That point does not concern the propriety of the meeting, which we have already criticized as a mistake, or what Colonel Anderson said, which in detail we do not know. The issue is the right of a man to do or say what he pleases, so long as he acts in his individual capacity, without control or interference by any organization to which he happens to belong. That right is not without qualification. If, for instance, a member of a church makes declarations, in or out of it, which deny all that the body stands for, its membership would be justified in asking him to show why he should not be dropped from its rolls. The line is often hard to draw, but in general no organization should concern itself with the expressed opinions of a member except where they come so definitely and directly into conflict with its objects as to indicate that the person in question can no longer function as a member.

NOW the American Legion has specifically declared itself to be a non-political organization. It has a proper purpose in seeking to maintain social ties among ex-service men and in working for their legitimate material interests. It has no concern with America's present relations with either Germany or the Allies. It ought to keep its hands off international controversies. It ought to have ignored the Anderson incident. If there are still men of liberal minds in the Legion, and there are, they will have to work hard to hold it to its original and legitimate objects in the face of a too-frequent manipulation by the bigoted. Nobody with opinions will any longer be willing to belong. Incidentally Colonel Anderson's reply to the Legion is so scorching and so true in its Americanism it ought to be read and taken to heart by every member.

FROM the point of view of continued production the settlement arrived at through Federal mediation of the difficulties in the packing industry is gratifying. It came after a long and earnest discussion by representatives of the workers and packers with Secretaries Hoover, Wallace, and Davis acting as mediators, and the outcome was the result of concessions on both sides. The eight-hour day and overtime rates are restored to the men, and the war-time agreements which the packers wished to abrogate remain in effect until September, while a wage cut of eight cents an hour for hourly workers and of 12½ per cent for piece workers was allowed by the decision. But the settlement is in the nature of an armistice rather than a treaty of peace. The men still speak bitterly of the "hostility" of the employers and threaten trouble in September when the agreements expire; while the packers, through Morris and Company, have announced that they want it understood that they "have signed no agreement with the workers but have renewed with Secretary Davis the agreement entered into with the former Secretary of Labor concerning arbitration of disputes." This is interpreted to mean, according to the words of the statement, that "the packers are holding firm in their policy not to recognize the unions, and that the agreement was not made with their employees but with Secretary Davis."

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THE treatment of the Mexican laborers brought into the Salt River basin by the Arizona Cotton Growers' Association has aroused much indignation in Mexico and some in Arizona. During the past four years the Association, having leased lands in the Salt River Valley at absurdly high rentals and having borrowed from the banks to finance its gamble, by a special suspension of the immigration laws has imported 35,000 Mexicans as cotton pickers. By the terms of the contract made with the Mexican Government the Association agreed to pay all the cost of transporting the Mexicans and of returning them to Mexico when they were no longer needed. Last year, when the market for long-staple cotton collapsed months before the crop had matured, the Association suspended work in the fields, and the laborers found themselves without work and in many cases unable to collect the money that was due them. After the Mexican Government had protested against this violation of contract, the Association again promised to "repatriate and to assume the debts due the Mexican cotton pickers." But there are still thousands of imported Mexicans destitute in Salt River Valley, fed by the Phoenix Trades Council, and the Cotton Growers' Association has taken no steps toward the fulfilment of its contract. On the contrary, bills (inspired by the Association) have been introduced in the Arizona Senate and House providing for the feeding of the hungry and the relief of distress by the supervisors of counties at the expense of the State, and a House joint memorial has been adopted under a suspension of rules, urging the Federal Bureau of Immigration "to deport to their own country aliens who have been brought into this country under special arrangement or contract and who for two weeks have been without work." And while the Association tries to make the taxpayers assume its obligations, the Mexicans starve.

THERE is a shortage of a million houses in the United States, according to the published report of the United States Senate Committee on Reconstruction of which Senator Calder of New York is chairman. To build these will cost five billion dollars, while railway and other necessary construction in the country is demanding fifteen billion dollars more. Senator Calder's committee opposes subsidies or building at Government expense, and offers ten bills to meet the existing emergency. Of these the most hopeful, perhaps, are a bill to permit the Federal Reserve Board to direct the use of savings and time deposits of national banks for long-time loans for home building, and a plan for a home loan bank functioning after the fashion of the Farm Loan System. Both these measures have merit, but it is doubtful if they can really cure conditions which so gravely menace the health and welfare of the country.

IT is hardly a generation ago that Europe began to reach out after fresh fruit as far as the West Indies. Within that time an enormous trade in bananas has developed, while apple exports from the Atlantic seaboard of the United States and Canada have also become a great industry. Now it appears that the Pacific coast is to become a direct fruit mart for Europe. The Panama Canal and the development of refrigerator-steamships make this a natural step, and it is not surprising to learn that the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company is planning to put a fleet of nine 15,000-ton steamships in operation between Seattle and European ports, in conjunction with a small service already begun by the Holland-America Line. This new outlet for the fruit industry of our Pacific seaboard comes, fortunately, at a moment when high railroad rates are making it more difficult than formerly to sell Pacific-grown fruit on the Atlantic seaboard. Within the last year or so, for instance, Florida oranges have largely displaced the California crop in Eastern markets. Logically, this is as it should be; we ought to take our food from the nearest gardens available; but the steamship is not so limited. A few hundred miles are nothing to it and its capacity to range the whole world over in search of cargoes for its home ports.

"THE trustees are well able to run this institution. Conducting such an institution is like running a shop or a factory, and when it is found that a man does not fill the bill he should be fired." Thus the president of the board of trustees of Lawrenceville in an obviously irritated reply to the criticism which the trustees and the headmaster of that center of light have encountered as the result of the dismissal of one of the teachers. Ah those strong, efficient men who "run" our institutions of learning! They always travel true to form. Less than two years ago these same trustees were looking about for a new headmaster, not sure whether they wanted an educator or some eminent man of another calling, say an engineer, who might continue his profession and yet find time to look out for the destinies of the youth under his strong care. It now becomes clearer than ever what they are about. They have a factory in mind; this means that they want quantity production of standard materials; and doubtless that is what they will increasingly get. But what if human youth should somehow turn out to be insusceptible to this mechanical handling? What if some one should find out that the boys of Lawrenceville, as of all other schools, are of material too fine and precious to be run through iron hoppers and steel looms, and require consideration and guidance more personal and subtle than is dreamed of in the philosophy of our strong, efficient men?

THE choice of General Leonard Wood as "head" of the University of Pennsylvania and of Professor Josiah H. Penniman as provost has the appearance of being a step in the right direction; *The Nation* has repeatedly urged the wider separation of the functions of business administration and of educational leadership in American universities. We seriously question, however, whether this particular step amounts to more than a mere appearance of progress in a liberal direction. Bearing in mind the personal prestige which General Wood will have in his new position, and remembering his record as a reactionary and a militarist, we foresee that he will exert an altogether disproportionate influence in the conduct of the University and that the faculty is not at all likely to have that increased part in its own government which it ought to have. Accomplished scholar and agreeable person as Professor Penniman is, we feel reasonably sure that he will have to play second fiddle to his business manager. Now this is precisely what should not take place in any university. The faculty should be first, and the business management should carry out its policies. We cannot quite see General Wood in the role of executive secretary of the University of Pennsylvania; and we suspect that the honors and perquisites—particularly the perquisites—of the president will be handsomely in excess of those the provost may look forward to.

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# The Commission on Ireland Reports

THE American Commission on Ireland, constituted at the call of *The Nation*, has published its Interim Report of 136 printed pages, unanimously signed by its eight members, Messrs. L. Hollingsworth Wood, Frederic C. Howe, James H. Maurer, and Norman Thomas, Major Oliver P. Newman, Miss Jane Addams, and Senators David I. Walsh and George W. Norris. Frankly admitting that its inability to obtain pro-English witnesses and, because of the refusal of the British Government to visa its passports, to seek pro-English testimony in Ireland or England has gravely handicapped it, the Commission has none the less sought to render as judicial a report as possible. It by no means confined itself to the American or Irish or English witnesses who appeared before it, but collected a mass of testimony from other sources such as the British Labor Commission's report and other similar documents, including many British official reports and statistics, Parliamentary debates, etc. We believe that a perusal of the Commission's findings will convince every unbiased reader of the earnest determination of the Commission to get at the facts and the truth. Its conclusions are as follows:

We find that the Irish people are deprived of the protection of British law, to which they would be entitled as subjects of the British King. They are likewise deprived of the moral protection granted by international law, to which they would be entitled as belligerents. They are at the mercy of Imperial British forces which, acting contrary both to all law and to all standards of human conduct, have instituted in Ireland a "terror" the evidence regarding which seems to prove that:

1. The Imperial British Government has created and introduced into Ireland a force of at least 78,000 men, many of them youthful and inexperienced, and some of them convicts; and has incited that force to unbridled violence.

2. The Imperial British forces in Ireland have indiscriminately killed innocent men, women, and children; have discriminately assassinated persons suspected of being Republicans; have tortured and shot prisoners while in custody, adopting the subterfuges of "refusal to halt" and "attempting to escape"; and have attributed to alleged "Sinn Fein Extremists" the British assassination of prominent Irish Republicans.

3. House-burning and wanton destruction of villages and cities by Imperial British forces under Imperial British officers have been countenanced and ordered by officials of the British Government; and elaborate provision by gasoline sprays and bombs has been made in a number of instances for systematic incendiarism as part of a plan of terrorism.

4. A campaign for the destruction of the means of existence of the Irish people has been conducted by the burning of factories, creameries, crops and farm implements, and the shooting of farm animals. This campaign is carried on regardless of the political views of their owners, and results in widespread and acute suffering among women and children.

5. Acting under a series of proclamations issued by the competent military authorities of the Imperial British forces, hostages are carried by forces exposed to the fire of the Republican army; fines are levied upon towns and villages as punishment for alleged offenses of individuals; private property is destroyed in reprisals for acts with which the owners have no connection; and the civilian population is subjected to an inquisition upon the theory that individuals are in possession of information valuable to the military forces of Great Britain. These acts of the Imperial British forces are contrary to the laws of peace or war among modern civilized nations.

6. This "terror" has failed to reestablish Imperial British civil government in Ireland. Throughout the greater part of Ireland British courts have ceased to function; local, county, and city governments refuse to recognize British authority; and British civil officials fulfil no function of service to the Irish people.

7. In spite of the British "terror" the majority of the Irish people, having sanctioned by ballot the Irish Republic, give their allegiance to it; pay taxes to it; and respect the decisions of its courts and of its civil officials.

As for the question of Irish violence, it will be observed that the Commission is convinced that there is full-fledged revolution on in Ireland. Yet it does not approve the Sinn Fein policy of assassination but "earnestly deprecates it." The Commission might, it seems to us, have spoken out even more emphatically against it, for that policy leads only to reprisals. But that does not excuse the British Government for the crimes that are daily being committed in its name contrary to the laws of war and of civilization. The Commission's report records many such atrocities which, had they been committed by Germans in Belgium or Rumania or France, would have aroused America to the uttermost indignation. The Commission is quite correct in its position that these outrages on both sides will cease only when the British troops are withdrawn. There would be peace in Ireland today if Lloyd George could but have the courage, generosity, and magnanimity to abandon the policy of trying to crush Ireland by force. The Irish people are not to be conquered that way.

A supplemental report of the Commission deals admirably with the religious issues in Ireland. The Commission was profoundly impressed by the absence of any religious strife outside of Ulster and the fact that the non-Catholics in the rest of Ireland are not subject to religious persecution. To this there was unanimity of testimony, as there is increasing proof that the Ulster bigotry is "artificially stirred up by those whose economic and political interests are served by dividing the people." The Commission might have added, we believe, that wherever in southern Ireland the Catholic clergy has failed to keep abreast with the Republican movement the church has steadily lost power.

While *The Nation's* disappointment over the enforced one-sidedness of the Commission's hearings is as great as that of the Commission itself, it has no regrets whatever for having had a share in the undertaking. On the contrary, its editors believe that it has been a public service to bring out the facts and to concentrate the responsibility. It cannot allow to go unchallenged any criticism of the Commission's work as likely to injure Anglo-Saxon relations. The Commission was organized not to hurt but to help those relations, which must remain gravely in danger as long as Ireland is bathed in blood by bankrupt British statesmanship. *The Nation* believes with Mr. A. G. Gardiner, former editor of the London *Daily News*, that there are three parties to the Irish problem, the Irish, the English, and the Americans, and its criticisms are no more to be regarded as anti-British than those of the London *Nation*, or of a host of other British newspapers whose denunciation of their own Government is far, far worse and far less bridled than anything written by the non-Irish press of America. Finally we repeat that we should welcome a similar British study of our conduct in Haiti and Santo Domingo, for we believe that a foreign report upon it would arouse Americans to the crimes committed there under our flag.

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# Europe Drifts—Nowhere

OUR return to peace on earth, toward the "normalcy" with which the new American leadership is to bless mankind, has scarcely been speeded by the events of the last week. The refusal of the United States to open trade negotiations with Russia, the manifest purpose of the French to nullify, at least in part, the result of the Silesian plebiscite, the deepening of the Franco-German reparations *impasse*, the communist uprisings in Germany, and the new Greco-Turkish war form an ominous composite picture of a world sinking deeper into chaos. Mr. Lansing chose well the moment for publishing his criticism of Allied statesmanship at Paris two years ago. Yet, except for Lloyd George's change of front toward Russia, the most heartening event of last month, no gleam of understanding appears in the actions or attitude of the men in Washington, London, and Paris who so largely influence the march of events.

More graphically than any other single episode, the finally completed Silesian plebiscite reveals the unwisdom not to say bad faith of the French imperialists, who, despite the polite fiction of an inter-allied commission, and the presence of some British troops, are and have been in full control of this area. Hardly had the territory voted overwhelmingly to remain German, despite electoral regulations highly favorable to the Poles, when various alternatives to the just and obvious one of abiding by the result were announced from Paris. In the name of self-determination it is now proposed to award to Poland the entire southwestern section of Upper Silesia, which contains the coveted coal mines, because certain of its districts returned Polish majorities. Apart from the manifest absurdity of extending the principle of self-determination to such minor units—a practice which of course has been followed in no other plebiscite area—the vote even in the coal region which lies close to Poland's frontier furnishes no basis for such a disposition. For while the Germans carried the entire plebiscite area by over two to one, none of the pro-Polish districts shows aught but a bare majority, and intertwined with the latter are others strongly pro-Teuton. Königshütte, in the very heart of the mines, went for Germany by three to one, and the coal area as a whole indicated a decided German preference. The injustice and dishonesty of setting aside such a verdict would be exceeded only by its stupidity, for it would still further diminish the chance of securing adequate German reparations. Alternative plans of maintaining Allied control over Silesia, of perhaps holding another plebiscite in five years, are equally foolish. They mean nothing less than a deliberate perpetuation of a state of passive war for an indefinite period—an inevitable era of propagated hate and bitterness during which a settling down to the labors of peace would be manifestly impossible.

If the French imperialists persist in the policies which will bring down the European house of cards, they at least have not been unwarned. The communist revolt in Hamburg where thirty persons were killed, the pitched battles in Saxon towns, the demonstrations in Leipzig, Dresden, and Munich, have been sufficiently widespread and violent to indicate what may easily happen if a people is driven to desperation. The present disorders will undoubtedly be repressed. But the outburst, at the moment that the French are purposing to deprive Germany of more German territory which is indispensable to her economic needs, and even talk of occupying Berlin, is more than coincidental. The deeper the French penetrate into Germany the deeper they will get into trouble. The brusque breaking-off of negotiations has served only to suspend payments of any sort. The billion marks which the French insisted must be paid by March 23 remain undelivered as will the twelve billion which they claim to be due on May 1. Meanwhile the German morale is enormously stiffened. It is safe to say that the chances of recovering the reparations which Germany should pay were never slighter than today. Every step farther into German territory correspondingly diminishes them. The only ray of light in the Franco-German situation is the vote of the Confédération Générale du Travail in favor of the importation of German labor for reconstruction work in the devastated areas. Its indorsement of the repeated German offer of labor, which was refused three weeks ago by Briand in London, is another piece of evidence of the divergence of governments and peoples. The actual sufferers of northern France have of course long favored this plan.

Meantime the Balkan tinderbox, after smoldering through two and a half years of quasi-peace, is again ablaze. The Greeks, taking affairs into their own hands, have again declared war on their ancient enemies, the Turks, and have advanced many parasangs into that remnant of territory which even the so quickly abrogated Treaty of Sèvres conceded to be wholly Turkish. "Greece's future depends upon crushing the Turks," say the Greeks. Poor little bankrupt state, dupe and victim of rival imperialisms, it has picked up readily the current diplomatic jargon! Only by crushing something or somebody can peace in its little corner of earth be assured. Why not? Isn't that the formula of world "leadership" today?

# The Poor Professor

"IF ever one were disposed to say that a community deserves no better government than it has, it would be in the case of our universities," we remarked in a recent editorial, with the result of a surprising response from many parts of the country, from professors so heartily in accord with the statement that we venture to return to the discussion. Wherever, our correspondents assure us, any attempt has been made to agitate for a more decent and self-respecting stand by teachers against the unwarrantable aggression of trustees and presidents, the greatest obstacle in the way has been the inertia, if not the timidity, if not the positive acquiescence of the victims themselves. Not only, of course, has this attitude on the part of the professors made it easy for their bosses to manipulate them, but it has been cited in vindication of all that has been done to them. If there are no more and no worse rebels than this, the administrators say in effect, surely there is no great need for a revolution. The grievances have been exaggerated or have been the inventions of the over-sensitive and the over-imaginative.

We are obliged to say that we sympathize with the professor at one of the universities who when asked how he felt about academic freedom replied that all the academic freedom he wanted was freedom from committee meetings and a chance to go on with his work. Instead of blaming him or others like him we should say that the great difficulty with our university faculties is that there are not more

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of the same sort of scholars there. Something like his disposition is the true instinct of the scholar. Any one who knows the American university from the inside knows how many men with genuine capacity for productive scholarship or creative teaching are regularly wasted on the routine work of committees and eventually diverted by the little futilities of university politics from the tasks to which their natures and their private longings urge them. Opinion constantly presses upon them to sacrifice themselves for the good of the community; they are rewarded with positions of authority and with larger salaries; in the end not a few of them come to imagine that they have chosen the better path. Meantime they have given up to party what was meant for mankind.

Is it a contradiction to say that our professors have paid too little attention to their administrations and at the same time have given too much of themselves to administration? We do not think so. To the extent that they have allowed themselves to be pulled away from their essential duties, which are learning and teaching, they have weakened their own position. They have seemed to admit that the administrator's task is higher than that of the scholar or the teacher. Certain of them who are scholars have put themselves in contact with the mere politicians who abound in universities as elsewhere and have suffered the natural contagion. Certain others who have been faithful to learning have consequently fallen into places less conspicuous and have ceased to have their natural influence. The outcome has been a vast—and largely superfluous—elaboration of university machinery, in which the various functions of the members of the community are hopelessly confused. From this comes the penalty of the professor: not having been sufficiently faithful to his calling, he has assisted in the creation of a machine which now crushes him. He is inert because the machine has come to seem a living part of his life, timid because it has become overshadowingly large, acquiescent because, having had some share in it, he accepts some responsibility.

In an earlier discussion we drew a parallel between the plight of the professor and those citizens of large cities the governments of which have been too much neglected by the good men and too much attended to by the bad. The parallel, of course, like all moral parallels is not exact at all points, but the immediate way of escape for the professor is the same as for the citizen. He simply must do more to help himself. He has let pass the time in which he might have best served the community by attending to his own particular field of learning. If he had kept his fences up properly—to use a bucolic simile—there would be no marauding cattle in his garden. As it is, there are, and he must now lay down his book and chase them out. We see no help for him except in a clear class-consciousness, a stubborn collective resistance to administrative aggression, a willingness to employ the threat of general strike in egregious cases, and a determination to resign when matters become unbearable. He has the example of other unions of workmen who have been forced to similar methods of self-defense and have thereby, though at enormous temporary sacrifice and discomfort, eventually improved their status. If the professor is unwilling to do anything drastic, if he continues to complain without any real action, we cannot see that he has any one to blame so much as himself. How long will it be before he rouses himself to vigorous and to concerted action?

# The American Cardinal

THE death of James Gibbons, Cardinal Archbishop of Baltimore, is an event of more than local importance, for it marks the close of a significant era in the history of the Roman Catholic Church in this country. During the late Cardinal's lifetime the cause of his communion was beset by dangers and stresses which could be weathered only by the most skilful and sagacious statesmanship. There were and there still are influences at work in the Roman curia far from friendly to the ideas and principles for which America is supposed to stand. And on the other hand, the free spirit of Protestantism which is not so much a creed as an attitude of mind, had to be reckoned with and to some extent placated. It is not too much to say that James Gibbons did more than any other to guide the Church amid the difficulties that threatened its well-being. A winning and genial personality, revealing itself in a studied simplicity and considerateness, was to no small extent the secret of his success and of his remarkable influence, not only among those who shared his faith, but among many who regarded it with indifference or hostility. He never forgot that he was an *American* Cardinal, and his loyalty to the American spirit, as he conceived it, was sincere and whole-hearted. This greatly assisted in building up his popularity. He cultivated friendly relations with ministers and members of other churches, and within the limitations drawn by ecclesiastical law or usage he cooperated with them in many enterprises for social and civic betterment. His policy was to emphasize the things on which all Christians are more or less agreed, and to throw into the background the things that make for disunion and mutual suspicion. He differed from some of his fellow-princes in the Church by his firm refusal to assume the external show and impressive paraphernalia attached to his rank. These baubles he held to be out of harmony with the spirit of a democratic state. He was the more able to take this stand in that he had not been subjected to the influence of Italian training and tradition. The result was that common men were attracted to him and believed in him. He has done more to commend his type of Christianity to the American people than any other Catholic ecclesiastic of our time.

When, however, we turn to consider his work and influence from a non-ecclesiastical point of view, it must be said that on the whole they were reactionary. He was no pioneer opening up fresh paths of truth, no champion of unpopular causes. His voice was always lifted on the side of the established order. Anti-modernist, anti-suffragist, anti-progressive in matters sociological, his thinking was cast in a traditional and conservative mold. Of the deeper forces of his age he does not appear to have caught even a glimpse. He gave no guidance to the minds of the rising generation. He made no contribution to the solution of any of the spiritual and ethical problems that vex the souls of his contemporaries. His books, which have had a widespread circulation among his co-religionists, are without literary distinction, and we fear we must add, without any standing at the bar of modern Biblical scholarship. For minds rooted in the past, and satisfied with what they find there, the Cardinal will continue to be a help and an inspiration, but he had nothing to say to those who believe in the revelations of a Spirit that are creating a new world.

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# Keeping the Cost of Living High

By LOUIS F. BUDENZ

THE long-harassed ultimate consumer in New York City who for a few months has hopefully fixed his vision on the mirage of deflation and its promise of economic relief rubs his eyes these days in a stupor of dismay. The bottom, he knows, has dropped out of the cost of raw materials. Wages, he is aware, have been reduced, and unemployment widespread. The cost of many commodities has started down the toboggan slide. Food prices have tumbled. Clothes are beginning to be a trifle cheaper. But public utility services which he must have and which he can only get from certain sources—telephones, gas, electric light, street car rides—are not decreasing in price. On the contrary, the cost of these essentials is going up, and by no modest percentage.

During the last few weeks four of the chief corporations serving the people of the Greater City have secured advances in rates, or have taken measures which will make such advances certain. On March 1 the Consolidated Gas Company, by grace of the United States District Court, was granted a new rate of $1.50 per thousand cubic feet. Only a short time before, also under Federal Court order, it had been allowed to charge $1.20 per thousand cubic feet. On March 1 the price of gas oil was declining. On that date coal had also decreased. In fact on that very day President John J. Stanley of the Cleveland Street Railway Company, in his annual report for 1920, was pointing to this new condition. "All authorities seem to agree that prices are coming down," he said. "Many prices have already come down. Copper and tin, exclusive of freight, are below the average prices of those metals in the ten years from 1905 to 1914. According to the Bankers' Commodity Price List the average price of all commodities on December 1 was $501.75 compared with $564.01 a month before, $662.66 a year before, and $358.77 on August 1, 1914. Coal is down. Wage reductions throughout the country range from 5 per cent to 60 per cent, a great majority being from 20 per cent to 25 per cent in December, and they may go lower." The Federal Court, however, took a different view of the situation. It had previously held that the New York law which fixed 80 cents as the maximum price for gas was confiscatory and null as against the Consolidated Gas Company. The $1.50 rate was now decreed as the price which the consumer must pay in order to allow the company "an adequate return."

On March 17 the consumer was hit hard from another angle. The State Public Service Commission, by a 3 to 2 vote, granted the New York Telephone Company a 30 per cent increase in rates. This increase gave the company, according to the Commission's figures, all of the $11,000,000 which the company had requested—to make up, it contended, the increased labor costs since 1919. The award was made with astonishing speed. The city had not yet had its day in court. The company alone had been heard. All of the data which the city had collected on reduced costs and further reductions in the future were brushed aside. The company has a reserve for depreciation for the State amounting to $73,000,000 and a surplus of $36,000,000 over its 8 per cent dividends per year. Indeed, the telephone companies—on their own say-so—are in excellent financial condition. The report of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company issued on March 5 for the year 1920, shows that in that year the company earned a profit equal to 11.7 per cent on its outstanding stock, against 10.04 per cent in 1919. It was the best year in the company's history—a situation which the report holds out as tempting bait to prospective investors.

The New York Telephone Company is one and the same as the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. The latter owns 100 per cent of the former. But the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, for its own financial purposes, is not the same as the New York Telephone Company. It charges its New York self a license fee of 4½ per cent of gross revenues for use of the instruments. This is clearly a cost-plus arrangement. It makes inevitable the unsatisfactory financial results for the public which have characterized arrangements on this basis in the war industries and the building trades. When wages go up, for example, in the New York Telephone Company or the Central Union Telephone Company or the Southwestern Bell Telephone Company, or any of the other selves of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company in different parts of the country, it is a source of profit to the "parent" corporation. Any increase in operating costs *actually* makes money for it.

In its 1920 report the A. T. & T. goes to great pains to defend this license contract, which it calls the "backbone of its system." But to the consumer, who must pay for this arrangement, such a contract is indefensible. Why, he innocently asks, should not the charge be based on rental price per instrument used which would encourage the "parent" body (or the other self) of the New York Telephone Company to increase facilities for the public? At the present time, in New York City, the company admits, there are 80,000 applicants for telephone installations on the waiting list. Why should the contract be based on a percentage of gross earnings, which invites higher costs and higher rates in the operation of the system? Practically every Public Service Commission throughout the country has expressed itself as dissatisfied with this contract. Practically all have condemned it. Those that have approved it, such as the Alabama, Virginia, Arkansas, Georgia, Maryland, and Louisiana bodies, have made apologies for doing so. The New York Telephone Company, it must be remembered, is not only an operating company. It is also a holding company. It owns practically all the capital stocks of the Bell Telephone companies operating in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and the District of Columbia. This is true of other A. T. & T. subsidiaries all over the country. They stretch in a huge net of interweaving interests, even up into Canada. Certainly, the Commission should have looked into this 4½ per cent contract before so flippantly deciding to take $11,000,000 out of the pockets of New York telephone users. The public was sandbagged, it now appears, without even being asked to hold hands up.

A poll of the Commission throws an interesting sidelight on this decision. On page 121 of the record in the Syracuse Telephone case, a letter appears which gives pertinent information concerning Commissioner Barhite who cast the deciding vote in favor of the increase, two of the five com-

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missioners being opposed. The letter is from Seymour Van Santvoord, chairman of the Public Utilities Commission, to Franklin B. Lord, counsel to the Governor, in regard to Assembly Bill Int. 1680 (1917 session), and says: "I think I properly should add that Commissioner Barhite did not participate in either the discussion or the determination of the Commission in respect of this matter, because he has heretofore acted as counsel for the New York Telephone Company." Commissioner Barhite had been disqualified on previous occasions—when his vote was not needed!

The electric light rates in New York City have similarly been increased 10 per cent by the three companies—the New York, Brooklyn Edison, and the United Electric Light and Power Company—which monopolize this public utility in the metropolis. Here again there were no public meetings nor public hearings in connection with the increase. The new schedule was quietly filed with the Public Service Commission which, as far as any protection it gave the consumer, might well have been non-existent. The companies' say-so that they needed the increase was sufficient.

The spirit of reaction, abroad in the land, has given the interests a feeling of irresistible power. Crudeness and force increasingly characterize their relations with the public. This is revealed no more clearly than in Governor Miller's Transit act, which has just been made law. It combines all the bad features of the numerous efforts of the street railway companies in the past to assault the car-riders of New York City and steal their pocket-books. None of the epithets which have been applied to it can describe its audacity and ruthlessness. In 1907 New York City had secured through the so-called Elsberg Bill the power to own municipally and operate its rapid transit facilities. The construction of the first subway was accordingly begun. At least thirty millions of dollars was put into it, when the interests became alarmed. The contracts resulted, under which the city gave its subway to the companies and entered into partnership with them. On these terms—that the city should sink $300,000,000 further into the subways and should get no return on this investment until the costs of operation and the company's dividends had been earned. The consideration for this arrangement was the 5-cent fare—which Governor Miller's act will summarily destroy. Under the police power his commission can grant increased rates. It is given authority to do this regardless of the contract between the city and the railway company. It is specifically encouraged, and given power, to grant a temporary increase of fares while investigating the need for fare increases. This means nothing more nor less than that the car-riders will be obliged to pay tribute to the company, even though the act is taken into the courts and declared invalid. The ownership of the separate extra three cents or five cents paid under a temporary 8-cent or 10-cent fare can never be traced after it has been paid in. For this plunder of themselves, the car-riders are compelled by the act to pay all the costs of the commission without investigation.

This wave of gouging is not confined to New York City. It is going on all over the country. State commissions seem powerless before it. The Indiana commission and one or two others, may be possible exceptions. When commissions cannot or will not deliver, other agencies are created or found. Across the river from the Greater City, in the State of New Jersey, a bitter conflict has been going on over the alleged favoritism of the State commission to the powerful New Jersey Public Service Corporation. This corporation extends over the entire State. It furnishes gas, electric light, and street railway transportation to 141 municipalities. Literally speaking, it has the State of New Jersey in its pocket. Governor Edwards did not like the situation. He put the members of the State commission on trial and removed them from office. But the Public Service Corporation went into the legislature for the increased fares which it was after. There it secured the passage of an act by which the valuation of its street railway properties was farmed out to such firm of engineers as the "State House Board" might decide upon. The Governor refused to act on this Board, and the other members gave the job to the firm of Ford, Bacon and Davis, engineers well known for their loyalty to the corporation viewpoint. The State of New Jersey thereby abdicated a governmental function and turned it over to a company of prejudiced private engineers. The result will be 10-cent street-car fares in Jersey—which is the objective of the corporation.

Other striking examples of this charge on the public are the Louisiana telephone rate case and the Philadelphia street railway situation. Within one-half hour after taking the former case under "advisement," two members of the Louisiana Railroad Commission, constituting a majority, published an extensive order allowing the increase which the company desired. The public was astounded, for testimony offered by the city of New Orleans on reduced costs seemed to point to a striking victory. Philadelphia had stood out during the war as the city of the 5-cent fare. Thomas Mitten, the president of the company, conducted a nation-wide propaganda for low charges, which was a thorn in the side of the other companies. After the war, the company went before the State commission asking for "relief" other than the destruction of the 5-cent fare. But the Stotesbury interests within the company could not see it that way at all. What was the result? The State commission, over the protest of Mr. Mitten, granted his company a 7-cent fare! There was an audible sigh of relief from utility companies all over the country when Philadelphia ceased to be a low-fare talking point.

Ordinary competitive businesses must arrange their finances so that the surpluses of fat years will take care of the lean. The utility companies do not have to do this. They have a monopoly on things which the public must have. The people thought they could deal with them by establishing agencies of control. But the utilities soon learned to control the control in one way or another. Distinguished criminologists agree that the way to stop a crime wave is to remedy its cause. The causes of utility crimes upon the public must be removed by making these public services public property. As long as private interest exists in them, there is a constant conflict between private profits and the public interests. With the four great public-utility essentials—light, heat, transportation, and communication, which no one, be he ever so humble, can do without—sharply mounting in price, the public is being ground between two millstones. The alleged lowering of the cost of living is being made the universal basis for reduction in wages. But the cost of living is not and cannot be materially reduced as long as the main essentials remain at the old price levels or are pushed to higher ones. If the public utilities are now permitted to run counter to the much-desired current of cost-of-living reduction, they will play havoc with the possibility of returning prosperity.

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# Mexico—1921

## II. A Labor Republic

By PAUL HANNA

FIFTEEN years ago Mexico had its first labor strike. Today it has a labor President. The strike of 1906 was in the copper mines of Sonora. When Carranza fell ten months ago he was succeeded by Adolfo de la Huerta, a native of Sonora, who was active in the copper strike referred to. His selection to fill the Provisional Presidency marked the political triumph of a revolution whose mainspring, since it began against Diaz a decade ago, has always been the determination of town and country workers to escape from intolerable oppression. De la Huerta knew his term in office would last only until the coming general election, six months ahead. Cynical observers reared in the old school of intrigue and violence said he would not leave office until shot out of it, like all but one other President in Mexico's history. Isn't he pure Yaqui Indian, they said, excepting the white strain contributed by a Polish Jewess grandmother? Yes, he had been abroad and had studied music in company with Maria Gay who is still his friend, but such accidents do not change the Yaquis' spots, they argued. The Provisional President gave no heed to the gossips. He gave land to the peons, however, as fast as they applied for it and the government surveyors could parcel it out. And to the wage earners in city, town, and mining camp, to whom he is sure the future chiefly belongs, he gave that freedom to organize, agitate, educate, and strike in which their only protection lies in the present stage of industry.

Carranza had begun almost as well. But the old First Chief was not of the people. He loved progress as a fine principle, as Woodrow Wilson did; as an astronomer loves the stars. He did not know that progress cannot wait upon presidents nor conform to their personal ambitions. The masses sensed this. Within a year various state regimes, acting under pressure of their constituents, were proceeding independently of Mexico City to apply the blessings of the revolution to town and country workers. Yucatan went farthest to the left, making virtually every male inhabitant a landowner and a partner in its eighty cooperative stores and in the hemp sales corporation. In a word, Yucatan in the extreme south, Sonora in the far north, and certain agricultural states like Chiapas, Morelos, and Tabasco became or remained centers of positive anti-Carranza sentiment. Presidents Carranza and Wilson quarreled because they were so much alike. Neither could endure being crossed. For some states to seek salvation by other than his personal methods made Carranza furious. He sent troops against Yucatan. They destroyed the cooperative stores, suppressed the exporting corporation, and drove into hiding such leaders as were not killed or imprisoned. The labor unions in Mexico City and elsewhere rose in protest. Carranza's soldiers suppressed them. Sonora remained, with its strong labor unions and its independent Yaquis. Carranza ordered mobilization against Sonora. Backed by De la Huerta, the trade unions, and the Yaquis, Governor P. Elias Calles accepted the challenge. The whole nation joined with Sonora and Carranza was snuffed out.

De la Huerta aimed to give the wage earners such a hold upon their new rights during his six months as President that succeeding administrations, however reactionary, would be unable to destroy them. His time was short, but he did one thing and attempted another that revealed his temper. By his inspiration the railway workers of the whole Republic met in convention at Mexico City, with a program to form a single union through which to voice grievances and negotiate with the Government. Transportation and twenty pesos a day for general expenses were allowed each delegate by the Government. We shall see presently what came of that remarkable gathering, which was still in session when Obregon came into the Presidency. In the last days of his term De la Huerta proposed that a labor congress composed of delegates elected by all groups of organized wage earners be formed, to sit concurrently with the national Chamber of Deputies and have joint authority with the latter body in all legislation affecting the welfare of the workers. The plan has not been realized, but the gesture is fresh in the minds of the people.

President Obregon is not a "Bolshevik." He is not a Communist nor even a Socialist. He is a Jeffersonian democrat with only one cloud to his title as a labor President. In his campaign last fall he had the indorsement of the Mexican Labor Party (which includes some Socialist parties, in the British style) and the Mexican Federation of Labor. And when I reached Mexico all these groups were unanimous in saying Obregon had fulfilled their highest hopes. When they indorsed his candidacy last summer the labor groups laid down very specific conditions which Obregon accepted. In formulating their demands the Mexican workers went back to principles which were familiar and agreed to by all citizens of the United States prior to the World War. To their candidate for President they said, We require that you protect us in these rights:

Complete freedom of speech, press, and assemblage;

Complete freedom to organize, educate, and strike;

Full protection under the law in all other efforts at collective betterment.

General Obregon broke no precedent when he subscribed to those principles. Innumerable leaders before him had first indorsed and then betrayed them. I wanted some one to tell me why special confidence was placed in Obregon. And Luis Morones, the father of the Mexican labor movement which Carranza almost destroyed, gave me a reason I had not expected. He said:

> When our position was most terrible I and two other labor men went one night to Obregon's home. We told him that Carranza could not be endured any longer; that there would be no freedom left from the revolution if he were not overthrown. Obregon listened and confessed that our charges were true. "But I will not betray Carranza nor any other man with whom I am associated," he told us. "I will not lead a revolt against his Government." So Obregon remained passive and stayed in his home until, after Carranza's troops had surrounded it, he and I disguised ourselves as peons and escaped from the city in a freight car. He would not betray Carranza; he will not betray labor. He is honest.

But the faith that labor men have in Obregon is not a

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blind faith. Throughout his electoral campaign one or another of the labor leaders traveled and spoke from the same platform with Obregon. The presidential candidate had to talk of many things. His labor lieutenants summed up their attitude, in very plain words, about as follows:

Do not vote for any man, not even for General Obregon, simply because he is a military hero with a magnetic personality. We must separate men from principles, and support only principles, or we shall be lost. At crucial times in the past General Obregon has defended the interests of the workers. He pledges himself to do so in future. We believe he is honest and sincere. If he proves false to us some day we must be prepared to abandon and oppose him.

So, after ten years of nearly incessant civil war, Obregon was made President at a peaceful election. And chief among those in his Cabinet are: Alberto Pani, conservative, Minister of Foreign Affairs; General Estrada, conservative, Minister of War; Plutarco Elias Calles, radical, Premier and Minister of the Interior; Adolfo de la Huerta, radical, Minister of Finance; Antonio Villareal, radical, Minister of Agriculture. That is to say, the general affairs of land, labor, and taxation are managed by the friends of the workers and peons. And the Governor General of the Federal District is Celestino Gasca, the former shoemaker, who contributes one-tenth of his salary to the Federation of Labor. Morones, now Director of Government Factories, and Salsedo, Director of Public Printing, also give a tenth of their salaries to the Labor Federation, which they did so much to create.

An important gathering of foreign business men assembled in Mexico City a few weeks ago. They were entertained by the Government. President Obregon appeared before them and told them how happy his administration was to greet the representatives of foreign capital, without which, he said, the vast dormant resources of the Republic could not be exploited. He wanted them to understand without hesitation that in their expanding operations within the limits of the country alien investors would receive the fullest encouragement and protection of Mexican law. From that gathering of foreign and native capitalists Obregon went directly to a convention of the Mexican Federation of Labor which that same day was assembled in a building placed at its disposal by the Government. The hall was filled with the leaders of a working-class movement hardly more than a decade old. Penniless Indians from distant deserts and sea-coast towns who never before had seen their ancient capital were in attendance. To these men President Obregon said, almost textually:

Your Government, acting through my person, has just extended the hand of welcome to the representatives of capital, so much needed to develop the natural wealth of our country. That welcome was gladly and sincerely given. From that assembly I have come now to welcome and encourage, in the name of your Government, the representatives of a class which is far more vital than any other to the welfare of Mexico and the advancement of civilization. In this gathering there are no masters of international finance. There are no bankers and brokers, no owners of vast landed estates. I see before me, instead, a convention of the class to which Mexico really belongs, because without this class there could be no Mexico. Unless it represents this class, and be dedicated principally to the steady advancement of its welfare, no government of Mexico can claim to be a popular government. In the name of such a government I have the honor of greeting this convention and renewing the pledge of your elected officials to make the welfare of the many their principal concern.

There are many reasons why the convention gave Obregon a storm of applause, instead of the perfunctory response which his pleasant words would evoke in any democratic gathering. They would have given him a "triumph" if he had said nothing on this occasion. For his acts respecting labor had already reduced the importance of his oratory. During his visit to Mexico in January Samuel Gompers was received at the National Palace. He apologized for intruding upon the time of a busy Executive. "If governments would give more time to labor problems there would be no labor problem," answered Obregon. I was almost as modest as Mr. Gompers when at five o'clock of a busy afternoon I sat down in the old room adorned by Maximillian wherein President Obregon usually receives callers. I said I had come to ask indiscreet questions. General Obregon smiled. "There is an answer for every question, you know," he replied. With the edge that was left on my adventure I inquired: "Why does the Government not grant the demand of the railwaymen for recognition of their union?" "We have no authority to recognize one union to the exclusion of others, and will not do so," he answered. He then referred to the convention of rail workers to form one union which Provisional President de la Huerta had called. "They remained in session more than two months, spending their expense money and accomplishing nothing," the President went on. "At the end of that time I was obliged to announce that the Government had no authority to continue spending public funds for such a purpose. So the convention ended. Since that time rival unions have been formed. One of them demands that we recognize its exclusive jurisdiction. It is impossible."

Of course I asked the labor men about this. They admitted sadly that President Obregon was right about the railwaymen's convention. It had squandered time and public money, they said, and split into factions instead of forming one compact union. They added that while Obregon had ended the rail convention by cutting off its subsidy, and was now refusing to recognize any union of railwaymen, he had in other respects so fully carried out his pledges that these achievements could be recorded:

With its new freedom to agitate and organize the Mexican Federation of Labor has grown in membership to nearly 500,000;

Hundreds of new schools have been opened to the illiterate masses, and thousands more are honestly planned by the Government;

Speech and thought have been completely liberated. The smallest minority is admitted to audience with the President or encouraged, not to "hire a hall" but to take a public building and appeal for adherents to its program;

Labor has a daily newspaper, *La Lucha*, which enjoys semi-official subsidies in both money and materials from men in the administration—which it attacks for some shortcoming every day;

Labor has its Institute of Social Science which enjoys similar support and is free to teach its twelve hundred pupils any kind of economics and sociology, as well as the much needed ability to read and write.

Luis Morones, pioneer labor "agitator" and now Director of Government Factories, began with a grim knowledge of how industry was conducted and a bright vision of how it might be conducted. Under President Obregon he is slowly but hopefully realizing his vision. I paid a visit to one of the Federal factories in Tacuba where all styles of clothing for

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service men are made. The building is an old convent, all its architectural beauties, inside and out, having been carefully preserved or enhanced by the Government's touch. Sunlight floods its long galleries and wide patios, and fresh air sweeps through its astonished cloisters. Banks of blooming flowers riot about the wide entrance drive. All machinery in the plant is driven by electricity. And if all Americans could see the speed and accuracy with which the native Indian girls, hundreds of them in a gallery, guide their fabrics under cutting blades, needles, and punches they would be free from the fiction that Mexicans do not know how to work. At piece work these girls earn an average of six pesos a day, and the Government gets its uniforms at an average cost of sixteen pesos each. Moreover, a night school and a well-equipped film theater are being installed in the plant for the employees.

But my last impression of the place is of its day nursery. Three months before her child is born a woman worker in this factory goes home. Her average earnings are sent her every week. A factory doctor attends her. When the baby is three months old she returns to work. At the nursery she leaves her baby with nurses who bathe it, change its clothing, weigh it, and put it to sleep in a spotless cradle. Three times a day the mother may leave her machine and come to the nursery to feed her infant. Some were doing it when I was there. "The design, execution, and management of this plant is all Mexican," one is told at the end of the tour. And I did not wonder that my hosts were proud of their work.

# The Kansas Court of Industrial Relations

By CLYDE M. REED

KARL MISHMASH is a coal miner of Austrian parentage who started to work in the Kansas coal mines as a boy, "spragging" cars down on the level under the ground where the coal came from. It is the custom in the Kansas coal fields for boys to receive men's pay when they reach the age of nineteen. The coal operator usually prevents an increase in his operating expenses by transferring the boy to the class of work for which a man's wage is paid. Mishmash went to his foreman in the Mackie H mine in March, 1918, and informed him that he was nineteen years of age and demanded a man's pay. The foreman put him on a job drawing man's pay April 1, following. According to Mishmash he had become nineteen August 31, 1917, and had delayed advising the foreman through ignorance of the custom mentioned above. If his claim were correct there became at issue the question of back pay on the basis of a man's wages from August 31, 1917, until April 1, 1918, the difference being $1.31 per working day.

Mishmash took his case to the local union and in accordance with the usual custom it was referred to the pit committee, the arbiters of local grievances on behalf of the men. The pit committee and the foreman of the mine were unable to agree as to when Mishmash became nineteen years of age and therefore entitled to the higher rate of pay, so the question went up to the mine superintendent and the member of the executive board of the Miners' union representing that particular sub-district. The mine superintendent went to the Mishmash home and examined the family Bible. On first examination the birth of Karl Mishmash was dated as August 31, 1899, and the mother signed a statement for the mine superintendent to that effect. A few days later the mine superintendent was asked to come to the Mishmash home again and on that occasion another entry in a different part of the Bible was shown him giving the date of the birth of the boy as August 31, 1898. If this were correct Mishmash would be entitled to back pay from August 31, 1917. If he were born in 1899 he would not be nineteen years old until August 31, 1918, and consequently would have no back pay coming. The mine superintendent then went to the school records of the county in which the mine was located and they were more confused still. In three different years the school census showed Karl Mishmash to have been born in 1898, 1899, and 1900 respectively. The mine superintendent refused settlement of the back pay question.

The case then went up to the district board of the Mine Workers' Union and to the commissioner employed by the operators' association to adjust such questions. Being unable to agree the case was then referred to the court of last resort in this system of negotiation, a body known as the joint board, being composed of the commissioner and deputy commissioner representing the operators and the president of the Mine Workers' Union and another representative of the miners. The president of the Mine Workers' Union in District 14 is Alexander Howat. The joint board agreed that in accordance with the custom, Mishmash would be entitled to the adult rate of pay from the time he became nineteen, but it did not make any finding on the important point involved in this controversy, namely, what that date was. The case dragged along, being the subject of infrequent correspondence. The boy's mother furnished the mine workers' board with an affidavit to the effect that he was born in 1898 and as against this the operators held her signed statement to the effect that he was born in 1899.

Finally the executive board of the United Mine Workers, District 14, on the recommendation of its president, Alexander Howat, and, according to the operators, without notification or demand for a settlement, ordered a strike in the Mackie mines until Karl Mishmash received his back pay, the sum in dispute amounting to $187.40. The two mines operated by the Mackie Fuel Company, employing something like two hundred men, received this order and ceased work on February 4.

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News of the strike in the Mackie mines came to Governor Allen and to the Court of Industrial Relations through the newspapers. A cessation of work in an essential industry for the purpose of limiting production is forbidden by the law creating the Industrial Court. A member of the court, accompanied by the Attorney General and the attorney for the court, went immediately to the coal district to investigate the situation. In September, 1920, on application of the Attorney General and the Court of Industrial Relations, Judge Andrew J. Curran of the District Court of Crawford County, in which is located the larger part of the Kansas coal mines, had granted a permanent injunction against

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the president of District 14, the district board, the officers of the local union and others, forbidding them to call strikes or do other acts which would tend to limit normal production of coal. (It must be remembered that the Kansas Constitution forbids the combining of legislative and judicial powers in one tribunal. The Kansas Court of Industrial Relations having large legislative powers cannot be clothed with judicial powers and therefore cannot enforce its own orders. It must go into the courts of general jurisdiction for such enforcement.)

Casual investigation showed the facts as related above. In open court evidence was laid before Judge Curran showing a violation of his order. Officers of the local unions involved came into court bearing with them the original strike orders received by them, in one case from the hands of President Howat direct, in other case the channel of delivery was through a member of the district board. Judge Curran immediately issued attachments for all of the district officers of the Mine Workers' Union. When they came into court an unusual thing happened. Thomas Harvey, secretary and treasurer, on being arraigned stated that he had opposed the order, that he had informed the district board that it was contrary to the law of Kansas, and had declined to vote for it. This was the first time division of opinion on the board had been shown. Harvey, in fact, had gone to jail with Howat and others in 1920 for refusal to appear in the Court of Industrial Relations and testify in an inquiry then under way. The other defendants, including Howat and five members of the board, appeared in court. Judge Curran found the defendants guilty and sentenced them to one year in the Crawford County jail. Immediately notice of appeal to the Kansas Supreme Court was given and bond filed.

* * * * *

The authority of the State of Kansas having been duly upheld in its courts, the Court of Industrial Relations proceeded to investigate the controversy. After three years of contention the only remedy found had been to call a strike. The court called witnesses and took information where it could get it. The first witnesses to testify gave the facts as outlined above. By inquiry the court's officers had located the midwife who was present at the birth of Karl Mishmash. She appeared and told of the event but could not identify the year. Her testimony was therefore as inconclusive as the rest had been. In the course of it, however, she referred to the fact that the godfather of the boy was then in a mining camp in that vicinity. He was immediately telephoned to come into court and complied. But the witness, Spohn, could not remember the year in which the boy was born. He was earnest and unquestionably telling the truth. Finally under a careful line of questioning by the court's attorney and a member of the court, he remembered that at the christening, which was on a summer day, a group of Austrians present had adjourned to the shade of a tree and sitting there had discussed the startling event of the assassination of the wife of Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria, which had just occurred. Spohn did not undertake to say in what year this had occurred but he clearly remembered the linking of the two circumstances.

It was rather a dramatic scene. The courtroom was crowded, mostly with coal miners. The news of the investigation of the Industrial Court into the controversy had spread through the town and district. The examination of the several witnesses had been followed with a lot of interest. The Industrial Court at once directed its clerk to proceed to a library and obtain a standard reference work by which the year of the assassination of the Austrian empress could be fixed. This was done and in a silence that was intense, the clerk read: "Elizabeth, wife of Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria, was assassinated by an Italian anarchist in Geneva, September 10, 1898." Finally in a most unusual way something conclusive had been found. On the testimony introduced and the record made the Court found that Karl Mishmash was born August 31, 1898, and became nineteen years of age August 31, 1917, and under the custom prevailing in the coal district was entitled to man's wages from that time, and the court directed the coal operator to pay him accordingly. The next day the amount due was deposited with the clerk of the district court and has since been paid to Karl Mishmash. The mines have resumed operations.

I have gone into this matter in some detail because it is an interesting story; because it is the last case tried by the Court of Industrial Relations before this is written, and because it illustrates more perfectly than any other single incident the sort of thing which brings on industrial conflict in the coal district and the advantage that a fair-minded and impartial tribunal clothed with the power of the State has in the ascertainment of facts and the determination of controverted issues. *Three years of the old method had brought only a strike. In thirty-six hours from the time of the Industrial Court's investigation of the facts began, a finding had been made and the money found to be due the miner paid into court.*

The law creating the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations came out of a special session of the legislature following the great coal strike of 1919. Aside from railway employees the coal miners constitute the largest and most numerous class of workmen in Kansas in any essential industry. The coal miners are also the best organized, the most powerful financially and with the most radical and defiant leadership of any industrial class in Kansas. About 80 per cent of the members of the United Mine Workers' Union of District 14 are foreign born or of the first generation in this country. Huddled into small mining camps, detached from the larger towns in the coal district, they have been peculiarly susceptible to the radicalism rampant in the coal regions. Alexander Howat, the district president, is a radical of radicals, alleged to be a member of the I. W. W., the Coal Mine Workers' Industrial Union, and charged with contributing to the financial support of the Communist Party and in touch with the extremists of the country.

The coal district in Kansas is the most turbulent in the matter of the number of strikes in the whole United States. Howat not only fights the operators, but he fights the national organization of his own union as vigorously and viciously as he fights Governor Allen and the Industrial Court. Between him and the relatively conservative national leadership of the United Mine Workers' Union of America there is no sympathy or concord. When the Kansas Industrial Court began its work in the coal district in April, 1920, it was received with openly sullen hostility. Howat and his officers refused to appear before the court and give any testimony as to conditions in the mining district. For this defiance he and the officers were sent to jail. They were released on bond pending an appeal to the Kansas

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Supreme Court which found against them. They then appealed the case to the United States Supreme Court, where it is pending.

In 1920 the Industrial Court obtained no voluntary information of particular value from any of the coal miners with two or three exceptions. The processes of the court were resisted and when the witnesses appeared their memories failed them on all important points. While no strike was called there was a partial cessation of work lasting several weeks. The court was trying to get the facts involved in the numerous controversies that had arisen and that had seriously curtailed the production of coal in Kansas. It pursued its difficult task patiently and calmly. From time to time it sat at Pittsburg, the capital of the coal fields, and made its findings and orders. The coal mines of Kansas have operated from the middle of August, 1920, until the strike in the Mackie mines without interruption, the longest period of uninterrupted operation in many years. When the Industrial Court went to Pittsburg this time there was a difference in the atmosphere. It was no longer surcharged with sullen hostility. Courtrooms were crowded at hearings as of old, but the crowds were not unfriendly. Witnesses, with the exception of Howat and the district board, responded promptly and gave testimony freely. The principal officer of the district, next to Howat, disclaimed responsibility for the last strike order. The officers of the local union affected came into court bearing the original strike orders signed by Howat himself. A year ago it would have been impossible to have obtained them. With the exception of one day when the miners took a holiday to hear Howat arraigned in district court they were generally at work. There was no serious threat of a general strike even when their leaders were sentenced to jail. Sources of information for the court and its officers heretofore closed were freely opened.

If, as both its friends and its enemies predict, the value of the Kansas Industrial Court law will ultimately be determined in the Kansas coal fields, its journey to victory is well on its way.

In the twelve months of its existence the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations has touched upon activities in all of the essential industries of the State. It has listened to the presentation of issues involved in controversies between street railroad owners and their employees; between employees of railroads and the railroad management; between electricians and electric power companies; between flour mill operators and their men; it has heard in all twenty-eight cases; it has made a definite finding in all of these but four; it has made many orders, touching upon conditions found to exist in these industries, and aside from the Howat case it has had only one appeal from its decisions and that was dismissed before being heard. Its finding of a fair wage in the Joplin & Pittsburg Street Railway Company case was used as a basis by the Metropolitan Street Railway Company operating in Kansas City, Missouri, and Kansas City, Kansas, for paying their employees. All of organized labor is not unfriendly to the Industrial Court. Of the cases brought before it twenty-seven have been filed by representatives of labor organizations. Only two or three cases have been brought by employers.

A great deal of press attention was given recently to the decision of the court in the matter of the operation of flour mills at Topeka. The mills in this city, the capital of Kansas and the seat of the court, had curtailed production in the fall of 1920. The employees filed a petition in court to have the conditions investigated. That was promptly done. The owners of the mills were subpoenaed to come into court and give testimony as to the conditions in their business, which they did. Out of this case rules were laid down by the court, as authorized by the law creating it, requiring that flour mills operation be 75 per cent continuous and that when a mill found it necessary or desirable to reduce production below that figure, application must be made and permission obtained. Some of the press reports indicated that the court had gone far afield in requiring an industry to be operated without regard to trade conditions. The court did recommend that when because of business conditions flour mills were shut down, its skilled employees should be retained on the pay roll either on a monthly basis or by providing them with satisfactory employment. The language of the court on this point is as follows:

> The evidence before us shows that in the Topeka mills skilled men in the milling business are being paid a monthly wage, and are therefore drawing pay whether the mill is running or not. So far as is possible to do so, this rule should be recognized in all the mills of the State, for it is necessary in the promotion of the general welfare that skilled and faithful workers should always be available for these essential industries which so vitally affect the living conditions of the people.

The owners of a sorghum syrup mill at Fort Scott objected to the interpretation of a contract made with the local labor union and asked the court to interpret and modify it. In the hearing the national officers of that organization agreed to abide by the court's finding, and expressed the feeling that the local organization was not justified in the position it had taken. All parties cheerfully accepted the court's finding and are abiding by it. When the time to make a new contract between the largest street railway and interurban company in Kansas and its employees came last August, there were several points upon which they were unable to agree. Both sides agreed to submit the matter to the Court of Industrial Relations and to abide by its decision. The court gave the matter its earnest attention and wrote the disputed sections, which have been accepted. Recently some questions have been raised as to the proper interpretation of the contract in some of its details, and again both sides are asking the court as a whole or one of its judges as the court may determine to resolve the differences. Both sides again agree to accept its finding.

During the first year of its existence the Industrial Court acted as a public utilities commission and was charged with the responsibility of supervising the service and fixing the rates of the public utilities of the State. The present session of the legislature has recreated the public utilities commission, thus relieving the court of that burden. On the other hand the Labor Bureau and the Industrial Welfare Commission have been abolished, their functions being merged into the Industrial Court. The court will also be charged with the duty of administering the mine inspection laws, factory inspection, and other industrial activities of the State. It will be an industrial tribunal free from the necessity of giving a large portion of its time and attention to public utility matters. This will give it more time to investigate conditions and adjudicate controversies which may arise and correct evils before they become serious enough to menace production of the commodities essential to the health and welfare of the people of Kansas.

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# Our Imperialist Propaganda—I. The "National Geographic's" Anti-Haitian Campaign

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The inclosed letter speaks for itself. In the December number of the *National Geographic Magazine* appeared an article entitled Haiti and Its Regeneration by the United States. The article was not signed, but judging from the photographs the articles must have originated in the office of some officer of the U. S. Marine Corps, or the National City Bank of New York. I took the liberty to inclose with my letter a copy of "The Conquest of Haiti."

*Rosholt, Wisconsin, February 12* Hugo Mueller

National Geographic Magazine
*Washington, D. C.*

Dr. Hugo Mueller, *February 8*
Rosholt, Wisconsin.

Dear Sir: Your recent letter in reference to the articles on Haiti was referred to me, for we are always interested in constructive criticism.

I am sure, however, that if you had followed the investigations and clearing up of these entirely unfounded and fundamentally inspired attacks on the Marine Corps' administration in Haiti, you would not hold the thought that the *National Geographic Magazine* could be subsidized for propaganda of any kind or description, for its honorable record of thirty-two years certainly precludes any such possibility.

It was only after the most careful examination of the facts and consultation with such men as Harry A. Franck, whose new book on the West Indies is considered an authority—for he had just returned from there—besides conferring with a half-dozen other members of the National Geographic Society who have had an opportunity to study conditions in that country, that the material was published.

The most searching investigation by Congress has resulted in an entire setting aside of the charges made, which were, to be perfectly frank with you, in our judgment born of political inspiration.

If you care to investigate the matter as closely as we have, you will find that conditions in Haiti were brought about by the actions of not only scores but hundreds of petty bands who, gathering around a small group of malcontents, would war against each other, and against the Marines, many of the latter having been murdered in cold blood from ambush and by the worst kind of guerrilla warfare.

The same condition that occurred in the Philippines when we were forced to take them over and which has been rampant in Mexico for years occurs in a smaller way in Haiti, and requires drastic action, and this only has brought about a house-cleaning.

We always welcome constructive criticism, however, and therefore thank you for your letter.

Very truly yours,
John O. La Gorce, Associate Editor

[Let us take up the allegations in this letter one by one.

"It was only after the most careful examination of the facts and consultation with such men as Harry A. Franck, whose book on the West Indies is considered an authority—for he has just returned from there." Is Harry Franck an authority? Does the fact that a person has just returned from somewhere make him that? Harry Franck is a magazine writer who was shown every possible courtesy by the American authorities in Haiti and Santo Domingo. He was shown about by the Marine Corps and certainly might reasonably be expected to write favorably of its every act. But does he consider himself an authority? In the introduction to his book just published by the Century Company, he writes: "The following pages do not pretend to 'cover' the West Indies. They are made up of the random pickings of an eight-months' tour of the Antilles, during which every island of importance was visited." The eight months' tour included Cuba, Porto Rico, Haiti, Santo Domingo, Jamaica, St. Thomas, St. John, St. Croix, Dominica, St. Kitts, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Granada, Barbados, Trinidad, Guadeloupe, Martinique, and Curaçao. Such is the sole "authority" whom the associate editor of the *National Geographic Magazine* cites.

But even Mr. Franck has something to say which does not entirely justify the words "entirely unfounded and fundamentally inspired attacks on the Marine Corps." On page 235 of his book he writes of Santo Domingo: "The great majority of the forces of occupation were well-meaning young fellows who often lacked experience in distinguishing outlaws from honest citizens, with the result that painful injustices were sometimes committed. These ignorant, or movie-trained, young fellows were sent out into the hills to hunt bandits. They came upon a hut, found it unoccupied, and touched a match to the nipe thatch. They probably thought such a hovel was of no importance anyway, even if it were not a bandit haunt, whereas it contained all the earthly possessions of a harmless family. In their ignorance of local customs they could not know that the entire household was out working in their jungle yuca-garden. Or they found only the women and children at home, and burned the house because these could not explain where their man was. Or again, they met a man on a trail and asked him his business, and because he could not understand their atrocious imitation of Spanish, or they his reply, they shot him to be on the safe side. In still other places they burned the houses of innocent accomplices, because bandits had commandeered food and lodging there. If one can believe half the stories that are current in all circles throughout Santo Domingo, the Germans in Belgium had nothing on some of our own 'leather-necks.'"

On page 129, he writes the following about Haiti: "Some two years after American occupation cacoism took on a new life. In perfect frankness it must be admitted that this was partly the fault of the Americans. . . . In their eagerness . . . the forces of occupation resurrected an old French law called the corvée . . . but they [the Haitians] probably would have endured the resurrected corvée had it been applied in strict legality, a few days' labor in their own locality, instead of being carried out with too energetic a hand. When they were driven from their huts at the point of a gendarme rifle, transported, on their own bare feet, to distant parts of the country, and forced to labor for weeks under armed guards, it is natural that they should have concluded that these new-coming foreigners with white skins were planning to reduce them again to the slavery they had thrown off more than a century before. The result was that a certain percentage of the forced laborers caught up any weapon at hand and took to the hills as cacos."

We pass on. Paragraph four of the associate editor's letter is absolutely and unqualifiedly false. There has been no Congressional investigation, "searching" or superficial, of the American occupation of Haiti. There was only a very biased "investigation" by officers of the very force responsible for the atrocities.

In answer to paragraph five, ". . . conditions in Haiti were brought about by . . . petty bandits who . . . would war against each other and against the Marines, many of the latter having been murdered in cold blood in ambush and by the worst kind of guerrilla warfare," we again cite the *National Geographic Magazine's* "authority." Mr. Franck says on page 133 of his book: "Up to date at least three thousand bandits have been killed as against four Americans—a major and a sergeant were shot from ambush and two privates who lost their lives from over-confidence."

The associate editor must, to put it charitably, be very uninformed to write as he does of the "condition" which "forced" us to take over the Philippines. He seems to be unaware of the war with Spain. His mention of Mexico is almost as revealing.

If the *National Geographic Magazine* really claims and values the generally acknowledged "honorable record of thirty-two years" of which its associate editor boasts, its public is clearly entitled to a full explanation without evasion or mendacity.—Editor The Nation.]

[P. S.—The above material was submitted to the editor and associate editor of the *National Geographic Magazine*, who were invited to make any comment or explanation they desired. Two letters and a telegram were ignored.—Ed.]

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# The Progress of Civil Liberty in the United States

[Items from recent bulletins of the American Civil Liberties Union.]

### Nonpartisan Demons and Legion Saints

*Kansas.* A mob of more than 200 persons, led by American Legion members, seized J. C. Stevic and A. A. Parsons, State organizer and secretary of the Nonpartisan League, at Great Bend on March 13 and forced them to tar themselves. The authorities made no effort to stop the attack. Former Senator J. Ralph Burton, one of a committee which recently reported favorably on the League's administration in North Dakota, was "escorted" out of Great Bend on the same day.

### A Negro Is Always Guilty

*Kentucky.* An armed and masked mob of men at Versailles on March 13 took Woodford James, a Negro accused of murder, from the county jail and hanged him.

### Rebellion Against England Contrary to American Traditions

*Pennsylvania.* The Pittsburgh Board of Public Works on March 11 canceled a permit for a meeting with Donal O'Callaghan, Lord Mayor of Cork, as speaker. The Board stated that the hall is "purely an American hall" and cannot be used for meetings "designed to spread propaganda against countries allied with the United States."

### The Irish Do a Little Oppressing on Their Own Account

*Oregon.* A meeting under the auspices of the Portland Civil Liberties Union, with Irwin St. John Tucker as speaker, was prohibited by the police on February 22 at the request of the directors of the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

### Be Careful About Your Audience

*Oregon.* Permit for the Portland public auditorium on February 7 for a meeting, with Lincoln Steffens as the speaker, was canceled by Mayor Baker after being advised that his meetings elsewhere "were un-American and the audience composed of radicals."

### Majestaetsbeleidigung

*Oregon.* Thomas R. Speakman, arrested for distributing circulars condemning Mayor Baker for prohibiting radical meetings, was sentenced at Portland on February 5 to 360 days in jail.

### More Patriotic than the G. A. R.

*Indiana.* Rev. William H. Lewellen, a Russellite preacher, who attempted to speak at a meeting in a private residence at Greensburg on January 23, was kidnaped by members of the local American Legion Post, taken to the county line, and threatened with tarring if he returned. Mr. Lewellen was to speak at the G. A. R. Hall, the use of which was denied after threats of the Legion.

### The Right to Work

*Tennessee.* An injunction issued by Chancellor Garvin at Chattanooga on January 28 prohibited the striking employees of the Lucey Manufacturing Co. from picketing and from announcing the strike in the vicinity of the factory by word or printed notice.

### Desecration

*California.* Charged with defacing a picture of President Wilson which was displayed in the office of their realty firm, Samuel and John Lochenmaier, wealthy residents of Lodi, have been ordered by Major Garrison, commander of the local American Legion Post, to leave the town within thirty days. The action of the Legion was taken after the matter had been brought to its attention by a committee of the Business Men's Association.

### Freedom of the Press

*Washington.* The seven I. W. W.'s arrested at Spokane on February 11 for selling the *Industrial Worker* on the streets were sentenced on March 5 to 60 days in the county jail.

### Overruling the Courts

*Washington.* Elmer Smith, Centralia attorney acquitted in the Centralia murder trial, was prevented by the chief of police from speaking at a public meeting at Raymond on February 13. He was escorted to the station and ordered out of town with the warning that if he returned he would be lynched.

### Religious Liberty

*Massachusetts.* Carmelo Niciti, a religious conscientious objector, was denied citizenship by Judge Frederick Lawton in the Naturalization Court at Springfield on February 24.

### 100 Per Cent

*Iowa.* Volney Diltz, commander of the Des Moines American Legion Post, has announced that more than 100 legionnaires have signified their willingness to be sworn in as special officers to assist the police in suppressing meetings for William Haywood if he attempts to speak there. "Bill Haywood won't speak here if we know he is coming" is the commander's statement.

### Extending the Blessings

*Manila.* Gregorio Perfecto, editor of *La Nacion*, organ of the Democratic Party, was sentenced on January 5 to two months' imprisonment following conviction on a charge of having criticized members of the legislature.

### Guilty Till Proved Innocent

*Idaho.* R. Quackenbush, I. W. W. organizer, was arrested by the police at Boise on January 20 and held on $2,000 bail pending investigation.

### Why Try Them? All Rooshians Are Anarchists

*Ohio.* Department of Justice agents, assisted by the Loyal American League, arrested eight Russians at Cleveland on March 1, charged with being anarchists. They are held for deportation.

### The Unprivileged

*Washington, D. C.* The United States Supreme Court on March 7, Justices Brandeis and Holmes dissenting, affirmed the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals in upholding the ruling of Postmaster General Burleson in refusing the Milwaukee *Leader* second-class mailing privileges.

### Un-Americanism on the Bench

*Washington.* In an order restraining the police of Seattle from destroying the issues of the *Industrial Worker*, an I. W. W. publication, Judge Everett Smith declares that the police have no right to censor newspapers or periodicals.

### Freedom of Board and Lodging

*South Dakota.* After having been held in the county jail at Aberdeen for six months, charged under the State criminal syndicalism act, John Gartland, an I. W. W., was given his preliminary hearing, and the case was dismissed. The prosecution, responsible for delaying the trial, admitted that it had been unable to get the witnesses it needed.

### No Advocate of Violence Wanted

*Iowa.* Mayor O. L. Barewald, of Davenport, who recently resigned from the Socialist party, issued an order to the police on January 8 to rid the town of radicals. "Load up the riot guns for immediate use and give them a reception with hot lead. We don't want any 'Reds' here."

### Liberty and Union

*Alabama.* Under the order issued by General R. E. Steiner, commanding the troops in the coal strike district, no meetings of union miners, for business or other purposes, are permitted.

### Cruel and Unusual Punishment

*California.* The executive officer of Alcatraz military prison has ruled that no inmate may read *The Nation* and *New Republic* until peace with Germany has been formally declared.

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# In the Driftway

EVER since Professor Michelson of the University of Chicago told the world that, according to his new method of measurement, he estimated the size of Betelgeuse to be 27,000,000 times that of our sun, many people have searched out that star who had never taken the trouble to know it before. Betelgeuse is, in fact, the popular star of the day—or, more correctly, night. This is excellent, in a way, as is anything that encourages us of this age and country to take our eyes and our thoughts off the petty trifles near at hand and raise them to the infinite spaces above. But the attention bestowed upon Betelgeuse and its inconceivable mass makes the Drifter jealous for one of his own pet stars, the giant Canopus of the Southern Hemisphere. The Drifter hopes there is nothing in Professor Michelson's discovery that will upset the relative size of stars as hitherto determined. For, according to such calculations, preeminence has been conceded to Canopus. In "Astronomy with an Opera-glass," Garrett P. Serviss says:

> There can be little doubt that Canopus, in the Southern Hemisphere, is a grander sun than Sirius. To our eyes Canopus is only about half as bright as Sirius, and it ranks as the second star in the heavens in the order of brightness. But while Sirius's distance is measurable, that of Canopus is so unthinkably immense that astronomers can get no grip upon it. If it were only twice as remote as Sirius, it would be equal to two of the latter, but in all probability its distance is much greater than that.

* * * * *

TO the Drifter it has often seemed that our greatest thinkers have been men who communed with the stars; that our profounder philosophies have been developed in regions like the Orient, where men lived much in the open of desert and plain, ever obsessed by the tremendous significance of the burning firmament above them. In this age and country we look seldom at the stars, and then drop our eyes quickly earthward, comprehending neither the science nor the poetry of infinite space. That is one reason, perhaps, why we dare not and cannot handle in our literature, our art, or our daily conversation the great things of existence. We play around the edges, and if we touch the great themes at all it is only in humorous vein. Thus Bert Leston Taylor, the newspaper minstrel who died the other day, wrote:

> When temporary chairmen utter speeches,
> And frenzied henchmen howl their battle hymns,
> My thoughts float out across the cosmic reaches
> To where Canopus swims.

* * * * *

CANOPUS, of course, belongs to the southern heavens and is not visible in most of the United States. The Drifter lately helped to identify this star, however, for a friend who was sojourning in Florida. There it was gloriously visible during the winter, close to the horizon southwest of Sirius, to all who chose to regard it. How many, the Drifter wonders, among the throngs at Palm Beach last winter saw, or even knew of the existence of, this greatest of all suns? A few, he hopes,

> For after one has had about a week of
> The arguments of friends as well as foes,
> A star that has no parallax to speak of
> Conduces to repose.

THE DRIFTER

# Correspondence

## Peasant Rule and Cooperation

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the fall of 1919 a movement was started in Jugoslavia whose novel social and political principles might be of sufficient interest to *Nation* readers to justify a brief exposition of them. The movement originated among the peasant cooperators, was organized under the name of the Peasants' League, and at the elections of last November secured forty seats in the National Assembly.

The Jugoslav Peasants' League claims that peasants constitute 85 per cent of Jugoslavia's population; that their labor in products contributes an equal percentage toward the existence of the state, that is toward the upkeep of all cultural institutions; that the peasant class thus constituting numerically and economically the principal support of the state, ought consequently to exercise a corresponding influence in the government of the country and enjoy all the benefits of a culture created by it. The present capitalist system not only deprives the peasant of all power but hoards in towns and cities all the fruits of culture, leaving the villages in ignorance, poverty, and filth. Other good reasons why the peasant majority should rule Jugoslavia are that it is the most altruistic and conciliatory element in society; that it is patriotic without a tinge of imperialism and that it is invariably opposed to war.

As the land should belong to those who till it, all big estates should be divided among the peasants, with a sufficient allotment to each for a decent living. The peasants should form cooperative societies and through them build homes, secure information for increasing the productivity of the soil, gather and sell their products, and thus protect themselves against exploitation by greedy profiteers. Through the cooperative system and peasant rule capital will be deprived of its present omnipotence and turned into what it ought to be, a good and useful servant. Experience gained in all European countries during the last fifty years shows that almost all branches of human work can be successfully operated on a cooperative basis.

The cooperative system applied to every possible branch of human work logically leads to the idea of collaboration among the classes: peasants, workingmen, private and public mental workers, and capitalists. Each of these classes is essential to human progress, each has its special interests to be considered. But no real progress can be attained if one class seeks its welfare in the exploitation or the destruction of the other. Only through their *collaboration* can the general welfare be assured; not through forcing all men to be "equal," as the communists pretend, or through making all men subservient to the moneyed class, as the capitalists practice at present.

But how obtain this desirable collaboration of the classes? By destroying the present political parties and creating class parties or organizations. Instead of professional politicians, class representatives should meet in parliament and legislate. But these great changes can be accomplished only under the auspices of a peasant rule, that is, under a class which is equally opposed to capitalist and communist dictatorship.

Such are, in general terms, the aims of the Jugoslav Peasants' League, led by Mr. Mika Avramovich, general manager of the Jugoslav Cooperative Federation of Belgrade, whose solid culture coupled with twenty-five years of practical work among the Serbian peasants fits him better, perhaps, than any other man in Europe to be the leader and the interpreter of peasant thought. The creed of the Peasants' League is spreading so rapidly in Jugoslavia that its ascendancy to power is only a question of the next election, when the Western world may have occasion to study a new economic and political system steering between the extremes of capitalism and communism.

*New York, March 15* J. F. LUPIS-VUKICH.

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## From Another Alumnus of G. P. College

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I have read with interest the letter concerning Gopher Prairie College which appeared in your March 16 issue. That interest is due primarily to the fact that a friend of mine, the graduate of another Alma Mater who has gone "on the town," is a member of the faculty of the college referred to. I have seen a copy of the same "Center Hall—Pure American" bulletin referred to by Mr. C. G. J. An experience which my friend had last fall, during the torrid days of the bitter (ahem!) Presidential election, may be illuminating to Mr. C. G. J., and to others.

My friend is a man of strong convictions, and is sometimes guilty of rather unguarded utterance. He forgot that he was in the Palmerized U. S. A. (You see, he had served in the A. E. F. during the greater part of the war, and was, accordingly, out of touch with American patriotic sentiment.) He suggested one day in a casual conversation that he did not consider Eugene V. Debs a horned devil, the return of whose soul to Hades Beelzebub himself is eagerly looking forward to. He further suggested that he did not approve of having Presidents of the United States selected by Penrose, Lodge, Watson, Smoot, and their ilk. Result: a day or two later he was called upon by the president of the Board of Trustees of Gopher Prairie College, was accused of being a Socialist, and was informed that he would be ousted at the next meeting of the board. I understand that he questioned the worthy board as to what is meant by being a Socialist, and found these leaders of American thought woefully lacking in knowledge on this and kindred subjects. He demonstrated, on his part, that he had only been so radical as to support the Pink Progressives in 1912. Result: he was permitted to remain among the corps of independent teachers of Pure Americanism at Gopher Prairie College. But I have no doubt that he is still regarded with bilious eye by those who hold in trust the mental and moral welfare of the youth who inhabit that part of the State which is "almost exclusively" peopled by folk of old American ancestry.

Mr. C. G. J., you are right: at your Alma Mater, as at many another, "no restraint has ever been or will ever be placed upon freedom of thought"—*if* unexpressed.

*Chicago, March 10* N. C.

## The Benefits of Military Training

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Among the advantages claimed for military service are the formation of character and the presence in the community of disciplined young men who will resist all forms of lawlessness. Tacoma, Washington, has been experiencing these blessings. It paid well for them in advance by presenting the War Department with a two-million-dollar site upon which to establish the permanent army cantonment of Camp Lewis. The Tacoma *Ledger* of March 11, 1921, sheds the following light upon the development of military virtues in its vicinity:

> In imposing sentence on Private Root, Judge Askren called attention to the fact that most of the crime cases brought before the present grand jury have arisen from the action of Camp Lewis soldiers, or from men just released from service. "The very fact that a man is in uniform takes him from the suspicion of the average citizen," Judge Askren said. "The uniform of the United States soldier never has stood for robbery or any sort of crime. To a person walking along the dark street the appearance of a soldier in uniform usually gives a sense of security equaling the appearance of a city police officer. Yet the history of crime in this country during the last few months has centered about men wearing the olive drab of the army. Instead of the army cantonment being a blessing to the community, as it should be and has been in the past, Camp Lewis is rapidly assuming the position of a curse to us. . . ."

*Seattle, Washington, March 15* Stuart A. Rice

## Hawthorne's Mosses Retold

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: When William Allen White said Sinclair Lewis's "Main Street" ranks with the "Scarlet Letter" he probably did not have in mind that Hawthorne has written a tale entitled Main Street, nor has Lewis perhaps been aware of it. It is interesting to turn to this tale first published in 1849. Though it is only episodic, "somewhat in the nature of a puppet show," one may find in it a vitality that Lewis's soulless account lacks:

> These wanderers have received from Heaven a gift that, in all epochs of the world, has brought with it the penalties of mortal suffering and persecution, scorn, enmity, and death itself—a gift that, thus terrible to its possessors, has ever been most hateful to all other men, since its very existence seems to threaten the overthrow of whatever else the toilsome ages have built up—the gift of a new idea. You can discern it in them, illuminating their faces—their whole persons, indeed, however earthly and cloddish—with a light that inevitably shines through, and makes the startled community aware that these men are not as they themselves are—not brethren nor neighbors of their thought.

*Urbana, Illinois, March 22* Ernest Erwin Leisy

## Should All Laws Be Obeyed?

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: There are too many Homer Reeds in this country who seem to have gathered nothing from history or experience. Mr. Reed's whole argument is that law, regardless of its idiocy or despotism, must be obeyed. If this had been the thought of our fathers there would be no United States of America.

The Kansas law to which he refers tends to, and was apparently intended to, suppress labor unions. Howat believes the law to be both wrong and unconstitutional. By what other method than disobeying it can he test that law?

*Peoria, Illinois, March 14* Nathan A. Cole

## The New York Peace Society

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: On page 30 of *The Nation* of January 12, you severely criticize the policies of the New York Peace Society "from 1914 on." You imply a charge of inconsistency because it "elected as vice-president the head of the Navy League." The truth is that Gen. Horace Porter, president of the Navy League, resigned his membership and office in the Society in 1913, because it opposed the increased naval and military expenditures which he favored. You say that this Society in the same manifesto declared for universal peace and more battleships. The truth is that it did not advocate any increase in battleship construction.

Because this Society, "from 1914 on," did not oppose the production of all instruments of war, you say that its members were "pretended lovers of peace." I respectfully submit that the word "pretended" is singularly inapplicable in this connection to such men as Andrew Carnegie, Samuel T. Dutton, Wm. H. Short, George W. Kirchwey, Frederick Lynch, Hamilton Holt, Charles E. Jefferson, and others like them, the leaders of this Society.

It is true that their road to international peace and justice differs from yours, but I hope that you will consent to acquit them of the charge of pretense or hypocrisy.

*New York, February 2* Charles H. Levermore

[The Peace Society in 1915 publicly "stood behind" the President in his advocacy of three battleships. From our benighted point of view, a Peace Society which stands for battleships is on a par with an Anti-Drug Society urging the moderate use of the hypodermic syringe. Dr. Levermore does not deny that General Porter was chosen as Vice-President of the Society when head of the Navy League.—Editor The Nation.]

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# Books

## Sarah Cleghorn

*Turnpike Lady.—The Spinster.—Fellow Captains* (with Dorothy Canfield).—*Portraits and Protests.* By Sarah Cleghorn. Henry Holt and Company.

IN our high school and early college days many of us who wanted to write encountered the doctrine that literature must never, could never in fact, be "propaganda." In practice this musty superstition, still held by a disconcertingly large number of intelligent people, worked out to mean that any passionate expression of unpopular conviction, however fiery, lucid, or beautiful in itself, failed of justification as a piece of writing. Defense of the existing order, however, or of any order which had safely ceased to exist, was not for some reason subject to this disqualification. It could be moving and beautiful without arousing suspicion, and if as was most frequently the case it was merely lightly and brightly scornful of anything new, young, or generous, it became a triumphant example of "the way to write." The way to write, it seemed, was to have nothing of any particular moment to say, and to say it with a kind of portentous playfulness.

The persistence of this obscuring and undeveloped attitude probably accounts in part for the neglect of a native talent so rare and distinctive, so fresh and individual, as that of Sarah Cleghorn, the Vermont poet and novelist. She is the author of two too little known novels, "The Turnpike Lady" and "The Spinster," of occasional magazine verse, and of a slim volume of poetry, "Portraits and Protests." Much of her best work is undoubtedly propaganda in the sense that all great work is propaganda which is neither deliberate moralizing nor a projected intellectual attitude but the expression of an irresistible passionate conviction, a personal affirmation, and an act of faith, and its importance is due in part at least to this very quality which makes it the reverse of the literary models held up to our adolescence.

"The Spinster," which appeared in 1916, was until the recent appearance of "Moon-Calf" hardly equaled in our literature as an autobiographical novel. Ellen Graham, Miss Cleghorn's heroine, is a feminine edition of the Moon-Calf. The record of her life, like that of the life of Felix Fay, is largely one of mental adventure, and Miss Cleghorn has the gift, as Floyd Dell has, of making these adventures vivid and important. Ellen Graham's experiences are the discoveries of ideas. Her excitements are experiments with writing and conversion to socialism and anti-vivisection. These excitements we are enabled to share through Miss Cleghorn's close and clear-eyed identification with her heroine. While the latter half of the book, dealing with Ellen's early maturity and relating among other things a slight and tepid love-episode, falls somewhat below the high standard the author set herself in writing of her childhood and adolescence, the book as a whole is singularly candid and significant. It is memorable not only as a charming, sympathetic, and humorous picture of the "viewy" little girl and her Vermont background but as an unusually sure and searching record of the elusive and complicated processes of mental growth, a record in Miss Cleghorn's case of the making of a radical. To readers of her poems it has a particular interest for the light it throws on the origin of the two distinctive strains in her: the native Vermonter with her strong love of Vermont country and history, her cherishing reconstruction of its old-time scenes and characters; and the modern passionate poet of pity and rebellion, the mystical Christian Socialist and pacifist. In both veins she is one of the most deeply individual of our poets.

It is her early Vermont poems that figure in "The Spinster" as Ellen Graham's "sunbonnet" verses. Varying from purely descriptive pictures of people and places to intensely imaginative little dramas and phantasies, they are alike in their limpid clearness, their simplicity, their whimsical, appealing, and occasionally slightly sentimental tenderness. Unlike most old-fashioned or rustic poems, they are distinct and full flavored, as evocative of the atmosphere of early New England as an old-fashioned color print. Too often such attempts at recreation are merely a setting forth of stage properties—an elaborate restoring of surface quaintnesses. It is otherwise in these poems of Sarah Cleghorn's, not only because she has a real imaginative gift but because they are the result of a long, happy, almost unconscious absorption of this atmosphere. She is deeply rooted in Vermont soil, impregnated with its sights, sounds, and distinctive quality. This is the case even when she draws for her material on the Vermont of a long dead past, as in Old Portraits Revisited, Morrice Waters, or In a Far Township, because it is a past whose echoes so evidently haunted and charmed her childhood, a past which was fused by so many associations and traditions with her own environment that she could feel and express for it an authentic and personal emotion.

These early poems, too, were the logical precursors of the "protests"—the militant full-blown and less-known poems of social rebellion. As conceived by Ellen Graham these country poems were to be not merely fanciful portraits but "to embody some shy and covert gospel of gentleness and brotherly love." It is a gospel which still finds expression in Sarah Cleghorn's poems, but it is an expression neither covert nor shy but full throated and ringing, as intensely living as the personality behind them. Her poems of the past, which have met with a slight recognition, were full of a gentle and reflective acceptance. The Protests are passionate and searching rejections. Rejected themselves by an attitude inherited from the past, they are perhaps destined to be among the revolutionary songs of tomorrow. It seems not too much to hope for such poems as Richard Ford and Hermann Suhr, The Poltroon, The Survival of the Fittest, or for this brief and forceful quatrain:

> The golf links lie so near the mill
> That almost every day
> The laboring children can look out
> And see the men at play.

MARTHA GRUENING

## China's Foreign Trade

*The Foreign Trade of China.* By Chong Su See. Columbia University. Longmans, Green and Company.

BESIDES its intrinsic interest Dr. See's volume is worth noting as completing the second hundred in the series of monographs edited by the Political Science Faculty of Columbia University that deserves to be reckoned among the most creditable issues of the sort coming from any institution in this country. Twelve of these are doctors' theses by Chinese students which have added measurably to our first-hand knowledge of such economic problems as come within range of the series and are an indication of the positive contribution to American scholarship already derived from our share in the education of Orientals. No country is so well served today as the United States in authoritative information about Eastern Asia, and it is the fault of the inquirer if opinions are still founded upon travelers' tales and newspaper clippings.

The main value of Dr. See's work lies in his presentation from the Chinese standpoint of a subject that has been fairly covered by fuller histories in English. "Most of the books given to us by foreign writers," he complains, "have not done the Chinese justice. They generally describe the activities of the foreigner in China in his own terms and solely from his own standpoint, and are designed primarily to justify the policy of some power in that country. As to the impression produced by those activities upon the Chinese themselves, we are left perfectly in the dark." The charge is rather over-

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drawn, for writers like General Foster, Captain Brinkley, Professors Parker, Hornbeck, and Morse—not to mention missionaries who always defend the Chinese—are notable for their fairness toward Orientals. We are not, however, disposed to blame a Chinese for pleading with some warmth the cause of a country that has been the victim of many misconceptions as well as much mishandling. Yet, though she is censured through ignorance, the fact remains that China is now bound by iniquitous restrictions because her rulers until lately remained stubbornly ignorant of the outer world, refusing to equip herself, as Japan did, with the means of national defense. No condemnation is too strong for the conduct of the early European adventurers who came to China, but they acted as adventurers have done from time immemorial, as the Danes did in Britain and the Japanese in Siam. The "closed door" was a futile policy.

This is said with no desire to depreciate the temper with which China's side of the case is presented here. Dr. See has written an account of her relations with Western peoples that will serve the general reader as perhaps the best account to be found within the same compass. Its main value lies in its very illuminating analysis of the devious ways which foreigners keep and pass and turn again to deprive China of her own birthright. The shameful increment of these trammels, beginning with the Opium War of 1840, has developed during eighty years into a situation of extraordinary complexity, blocking the industrial progress of the country so completely as to threaten the continuance of profitable intercourse with outsiders. The author is justified in his contention that these impediments to the normal progress of a nation, combined with the conflict proceeding between the old and the new ideas of the people, are the true causes of the disturbances everywhere going on in China. They are in the midst of a great transformation "in which a new scheme of life that is foreign in origin is being gradually absorbed," but its throes do not prove that the Chinese are not fit for self-government or that they must be placed under international tutelage. Much is said, of course, about the role of Japan and her schemes for aggrandizement, and with this much appears about our efforts to check her that will carry comfort to American readers. But it is not necessary to touch upon these controversial topics to accept the general conclusion that the destiny of China involves the future peace of the world so long as her autonomy is violated through the clash of antagonistic intrigues among the great powers.

FREDERICK WELLS WILLIAMS

## Through Russian Eyes

*The Passing of the Old Order in Europe.* By Gregory Zilboorg. Thomas Seltzer.

THE great war and its aftermath have supplied the pacifist critic with abundant matter to his purpose. The delusion of a better world to be generated from fire and blood is rapidly evaporating, and men and nations are reverting, some complacently, some cynically, some despairingly, to the formulas and slogans of the old political and industrial order. The evils of imperialism have been increased by the destruction of the delicate balance of power which prevailed before the war and Europe is agonizing in the throes of its readjustment. Acute physical distress has sharpened the elemental cravings and hatreds; never since Europe received the blessing of modern civilization has the rule of power been so shamelessly asserted. War has wrought its customary benefits. To counteract these results Mr. Zilboorg proclaims the creed of a "militant pacifism which will refuse altogether to compromise upon the essential issue of war and peace," since violence has never availed to destroy violence but has inevitably strengthened the principle which it endeavored to oppose. He frankly avows the Russian theory of defeatism as the most healthy and noble idea with which war can be met.

Mr. Zilboorg is aware that such an attitude will never be encouraged by society as it is now organized. Force is the essential constituent of the modern state, war its irreplaceable instrument. All our political progress has been in the direction of strengthening the power of the state, and if we are to free ourselves from the morass in which we are plunged, we must, in his view, get rid of the oppressive claims which the state makes upon us. We can travel a considerable distance in sympathetic mood with the critic till he falls into the philosopher's temptation of referring all phenomena to his single formula. If our standards of humanity are debased, if we are suffering from a selfish, degraded morality, if our aesthetic life is perverted and dispirited, it is all owing to the absorption of our energies in the service of this monster. And setting aside the cause, his presentment of modern civilization is too hopelessly blank to square with his own prophecies. If European thought is as debauched, if its spirit is as mechanistic and mediocre as the writer declares, how is it to find those energies from which the new life is to be created? To make his interpretation of the prevailing spiritual decay effectively lugubrious, he chooses examples which are not certain to command the assent of other students. To show that the age is one of thoroughgoing pessimism and despair he elevates into supreme significance the writings of Oscar Wilde, Dostoevski, and W. J. Locke (!), attaching to them values which they do not commonly have for their readers. We do not believe that the importance of Wilde lies in his idealized philosophy of suffering nor that Dostoevski is "beloved" *because* of his "anarchistic, atrocious, and unhealthy pessimism." As for Locke, perhaps he is "the most popular writer in Europe," but we object to being called upon to bow before his "amazing erudition" or to construe his popularity as a sign of our moral decadence.

This somewhat distorted literary perspective is not, however, as injurious to Mr. Zilboorg's interpretation of Europe's malady as is the sectarian view which he takes of the class struggle. While in some particulars adopting a very critical attitude toward Marxian dogmas and preserving in the main an admirably temperate tone in his discussion, in speaking of the middle class he displays a fanatical zeal which results in confusion to his ideas. He makes the middle class his target because it is the chief prop of the existing order, but he talks about it as if it were a consciously solidified body possessing a definitely formulated set of principles and distinguished from the rest of humanity, as clearly and as simply as black from white, by peculiar mental and moral traits. The middle class in his view is wholly and unalterably materialistic:

"The ideals of the middle class all grow out of the belief that the good life consists simply in following pleasure and avoiding pain and that the chief means of achieving this happy state is by satisfying the possessive instincts to the utmost. . . . To rise above the level of this fixed, sessile, comfortable, and thoroughly degraded order of existence is no part of the mission of the middle class. Social stability, with its insurance of an unchallenged position and a regular income, is all that the middle class seeks to maintain, and it sets its back firmly against every movement which challenges its existence or which threatens to remove the conventional foundations upon which it rests. . . . Spiritual violence—*the ruthless suppression of every benevolent instinct*—is the very soul of bourgeois culture."

This is the tone of irrational invective. It is a mere distortion of psychological and social realities, dictated by a deep political bias. The exercise of power has always carried with it the material good things of the earth, and the rule of the middle class has only signified a more widespread enjoyment of material prosperity, resulting in a strengthening of the "bourgeois ideal" in those countries in which economic opportunities were most accessible. Is there any warrant for assuming that there exists in any country, even in proletarian Soviet Russia, a large class whose struggle for power is unrelated to

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the possessive instinct? Is not the mujik's passion for his land inflexibly determining the course of the revolution in Russia? Mr. Zilboorg, far more than he admits, is writing under the sway of Marxian doctrines. The abasement of the middle class is for him a necessary condition of the elevation of the workingman, in whom, he believes, are centered the finest hopes of the future society. His reasoning is up to a certain point syllogistic but ends with a blind leap into darkness. Our present social order, he argues, is wicked, our present social order is controlled by the middle class; therefore the middle class is wicked and should be rooted out, and therefore the working class should be put in control of the world's affairs. Even if we were to recognize the sharp division of classes, we might ask to be convinced of the superior moral qualifications of the laboring man, because a nobler moral order is what Mr. Zilboorg is concerned about. We might allege that a fear often expressed by thoughtful and fair-minded persons is that a working class rule would intensify those very materialistic and mechanistic tendencies which he regards as the worst sin of the middle class. Mr. Zilboorg offers no proof to quiet this kind of misgiving. By the same logic which places Harding in the White House because Wilson failed in his great task, though heaven knows there is little to be looked for from the new choice, we are here called upon to replace one class by another because no alternative is available. "There seems no recourse," says Mr. Zilboorg, "but to throw the lines to labor." The rest is faith and hope.

What, now, are the methods by which the transfer of power is to be brought about? Mr. Zilboorg is not a Bolshevik; he calls himself a philosophic opponent of its doctrines. His opposition is fundamentally to its employment of force. In his detestation of violence he is consistent from beginning to end. A revolution which makes use of the same weapons as the system which it is opposing is planting the seeds of its own destruction. A government which is erected by force can be maintained only by force, and the use of brute force is what has brought the world to its present hopeless pass. If he is lenient toward the bolshevist leaders it is because he views their actions as the inescapable consequence of the diseased condition of Russia and of Europe in general. Indeed, he holds the rest of Europe more to blame for the course of events in Russia than that country itself. Having been a member of the idealistic Kerensky government, he remains loyal to the humane principles which that regime vainly tried to incorporate into politics, and in the refusal of the world to respond to Kerensky's appeals he sees the direct cause for the triumph of bolshevism. The revolution which Mr. Zilboorg forecasts will therefore be peaceful. It may entail great suffering and misery, but it will admit of no recourse to arms. Its weapon will be the strike, which is to be employed in both political and economic issues, directed in one sphere to the decentralization of the state, in the other toward the control of industry by labor. But these are not the ultimate objects of the writer's quest. What he is looking toward is a readjustment of social groupings to bring about a greater solidarity among men, a more widespread efflorescence of cultural forces that have long been suppressed, a moral and spiritual regeneration of the world. It is an attractive, a generous, and a high-minded ideal; we need only faith in the efficacy of the methods he proposes to become converts to his creed.

JACOB ZEITLIN

## Notable New Books

*Across Mongolian Plains.* By Roy Chapman Andrews. Appleton.

A popular account of observations and adventures in Mongolia and North China in connection with the Second Asiatic Expedition of the American Museum of Natural History.

*The War of the Future.* By General von Bernhardi. Appleton.

Advice based on the experiences of the past war.

*The New Jerusalem.* By G. K. Chesterton. Doran.

A book of travels with a rub-a-dub-dub of argument about Jews and Jewry.

*Devil Stories: An Anthology.* Edited by Maximilian J. Rudwin. Knopf.

Twenty stories from several literatures, chosen to illustrate the attitude toward the devil of various nations and of various story-writers.

*Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association.* Collected by A. C. Bradley. Oxford.

Six solid studies by H. Bradley, W. P. Ker, George Saintsbury (Trollope Revisited), John Sampson (On Playing the Sedulous Ape), F. Melian Stawell (Conrad), and H. C. Wyld.

*Training for Librarianship.* By J. H. Friedel. Lippincott.

Useful advice upon how to become a member of a lamentably neglected profession.

*What Happened at Jutland.* By C. C. Gill. Doran.

An impartial study, by a Commander in the United States Navy, of a combat which he calls one of "the greatest battles in history," but of which he says it "had no decisive influence upon the naval situation or the general course of the war."

*Africa: Slave or Free?* By John H. Harris. Dutton.

A high-minded and enlightened plea for a more democratic treatment of Africa by European and American Powers.

*The Crisis of the Naval War.* By Viscount Jellicoe. Doran.

An account of the work of the British and American navies in combating the submarine.

*The Northern D'Entrecasteaux.* By D. Jenness and the late Rev. A. Ballantyne. Oxford.

An interesting anthropological description of the almost entirely unknown islands of Goodenough and Fergusson in the D'Entrecasteaux archipelago, off the New Guinea Coast.

*The Poems of John Keats.* Edited with an Introduction and Notes by E. De Sélincourt. Dodd, Mead.

The fourth edition, revised, of a book which, first issued in 1904, still remains the best one-volume edition of the poet, though it lacks the Letters included in Cambridge edition. This new edition, specially intended to mark the Keats centenary, takes account of the Woodhouse transcripts, with other recent findings, and includes the two sonnets discovered in 1914.

*Camping and Woodcraft.* By Horace Kephart. Macmillan. 2 vols. in 1.

A reissue of an invaluable book now for the first time bound in one compact volume.

*The General Staff and Its Problems.* By General Ludendorff. Dutton. 2 vols.

"The history of the relations between the High Command and the German Imperial Government as revealed by official documents."

*The Garden of Bright Waters.* By Edward Powys Mathers. Houghton Mifflin.

120 Asiatic love poems translated by the translator of "Coloured Stars." Many are of recent or contemporary origin, but all are strongly in the "Oriental" tradition of ardor and longing, and all are rendered, for the most part in free verse, with exquisite taste. As in the case of the earlier volume, this collection brings together poems from all the corners of Asia, the largest number being from the Arabic—in which are written the seven poems of John Duncan here included. There are also further poems by the American-born Chinese valet whose work attracted attention in "Coloured Stars," and whose name Mr. Mathers now gives as J. Wing.

*A Biographical Dictionary of Modern Rationalists.* Compiled by Joseph McCabe. London: Watts.

A substantial quarto of nearly a thousand columns devoted to information concerning nearly 3,000 persons who since 1600 have dissented in some respect or another from orthodox Christianity. The list, of course, includes a large proportion of the most eminent men and women who have thought at all during the period. Without pretending to great research, Mr. McCabe has done a workmanlike job, not innocent here and there of notes of exultation at the number of his examples; his own intellectual position is that of avowed and thoroughgoing rationalism.

*A Short History of Russian Literature.* Translated from the Russian of Shakhnovski. Dutton.

A convenient primer, not very well adapted to the non-Russian reader.

*The Early Life and Education of John Evelyn—1620-1641.* With a Commentary by H. Maynard Smith. Oxford.

The first instalment of a proposed new edition of Evelyn's "Diary," of which this volume gives about twenty pages with a commentary which for luxuriance of annotation can hardly be matched in English literature. It contains much pertinent matter agreeably presented.

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# Drama

## "Inheritors"

WHILE managers are returning from early spring trips to London and Paris with the manuscripts of plays ranging from Shaw to Bataille, our native drama is gathering an ever more vigorous life. The process has few observers. But all great things have had their origin in obscurity and have often become stained and stunted by contact with the world and its success. It need matter very little to Susan Glaspell whether her play "Inheritors," which the Provincetown Players are producing, ever reaches Broadway. Nor need it affect her greatly whether the criticism of the hour approves it or not. If the history of literature, dramatic or non-dramatic, teaches us anything, it is that Broadway and its reviewers will some day be judged by their attitude to this work.

"Inheritors" is not, in all likelihood, a great play, as it is certainly not a perfect one. Neither was Hauptmann's "Before Dawn." Like the latter it has too pointed an intention; unlike the latter its first act drifts rather than culminates and needs both tightening and abbreviation. But it is the first play of the American theater in which a strong intellect and a ripe artistic nature have grasped and set forth in human terms the central tradition and most burning problem of our national life quite justly and scrupulously, equally without acrimony or compromise.

In 1879 two men occupied adjoining farms in Iowa: Silas Morton, son of the earliest pioneers from Ohio who fought Black Hawk and his red men for the land, and Felix Fejevary, a Hungarian gentleman, who had left his country and sought freedom in America after the abortive revolution of 1848. The two men were lifelong friends, and Morton, who had had but two months of schooling, absorbed from his Hungarian friend a profound sense of the liberation of culture and left the hill which the white man had wrung by force from the red to be the seat of a college that was to perpetuate the united spirits of liberty and learning. In the second act we are taken to the library of this college. The time is October, 1920. Felix Fejevary, 2nd, now chairman of the board of trustees, is in consultation with Senator Lewis of the finance committee of the State legislature. Fejevary wants an appropriation and recalls to the senator that the college has been one hundred per cent American during the war and that the students, led by his son, have even acted as strike-breakers in a recent labor dispute. The son, Horace Fejevary, is introduced, a youth who thinks Morton College is getting socially shabby—too many foreigners!—and who is just now enraged at certain Hindu students who have pled the cause of the Indian revolutionists and quoted Lincoln in defense of their position. Senator Lewis thinks the lad a fine specimen. But, talking of appropriations, there is a certain Professor Holden who does not think that the Hindus ought to be deported, who has said that America is the traditional asylum of revolutionaries, and who seems to be a Bolshevik in other ways. Fejevary promises to take care of Holden, and the ensuing scene between these two with its searching revelation of spiritual processes, its bitter suppressions, its implication of an evil barter in values not made with hands touches a point of both dramatic truth and force which no other American playwright has yet rivaled. The ironic and tragic catastrophe is brought about by another member of the third generation, Madeline Fejevary Morton. To her mind, natural and girlish though it is, the monstrous inner contradictions of the situation are not wholly dark. It is two years after the armistice. Yet a boy chum of hers, a conscientious objector, is still in a narrow and noisome cell; the Hindu students who are to be sent to certain destruction are but following the precepts of Lincoln's second inaugural. She interferes in their behalf and proclaims in public, crudely but with the passionate emphasis of youth, the principles for which her two grandfathers founded Morton College. Her offense, under the Espionage Act, is no laughing matter. People with foreign names have got twenty years for less. Her uncle and her aunt plead with her; Holden asks her to let herself ripen for greater uses; her father's state pleads for itself. Miss Glaspell has been careful to make her neither priggish nor tempestuous. Some inner purity of soul alone prompts her to resist. Suddenly an outcast, she goes forth to face her judges and suffer her martyrdom.

No competent critic, whatever his attitude to the play's tendency, will be able to deny the power and brilliancy of Miss Glaspell's characterization. The delineation of the three Fejevarys—father, son, and grandson—is masterly. Through the figures of these men she has recorded the tragic disintegration of American idealism. The second Felix remembers his father and his inheritance. But he has faced the seeming facts so long and compromised so much that he is drained dry of all conviction and sincerity. His son is an empty young snob and ruffian. With equal delicacy and penetration we are shown the three Morton generations—the slow, magnificent old pioneer, his broken son, his granddaughter Madeline whose sane yet fiery heart symbolizes the hope and the reliance of the future. Alone and pathetic among them all stands Holden, the academic wage slave who knows the truth but who has an ailing wife; who yearns to speak but who has no money laid by; a quiet man and a terrible judgment on the civilization that has shaped him.

In the second and third acts Miss Glaspell's dialogue expresses with unfailing fitness her sensitive knowledge of her characters. It has entire verisimilitude. But it has constant ironic and symbolic suppressions and correspondences and overtones. This power of creating human speech which shall be at once concrete and significant, convincing in detail and spiritually cumulative in progression, is, of course, the essential gift of the authentic dramatist. That gift Miss Glaspell always possessed in a measure; she has now brought it to a rich and effective maturity.

The acting of the Provincetown Players in "Inheritors" is by far the best their little stage has ever seen. Miss Anne Harding's impersonation of Madeline has freshness and sincerity, a cool charm and a beautiful lift of aspiration. Jasper Deeter gives a hauntingly real picture of a difficult character in the last act, and George Cram Cook, Andrew Fraser, and James Light (as Holden) exhibit a new plasticity, earnestness, and insight. Broadway blazes and buzzes. The memorable dramatic occasion of the year is on MacDougal Street where Susan Glaspell has added to the wealth of both her country and her art.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

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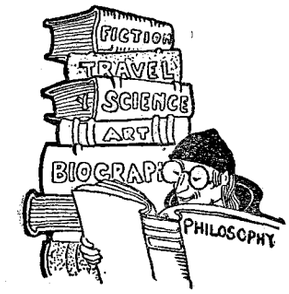


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# International Relations Section

## Is Egypt a Nation? I.

THE documents to be printed in this and the two subsequent issues of the International Relations Section will tell the whole story of Egypt's relations with Great Britain. The report of the British Mission appointed to "inquire into the causes of the late disorders in Egypt, and to report on the existing situation in the country and the form of the Constitution which, under the Protectorate, will be best calculated to promote its peace and prosperity, the progressive development of self-governing institutions, and the protection of foreign interests," was published as a Parliamentary White Paper on February 19. The Mission was headed by Viscount Milner, and the report represents the most enlightened point of view of British imperialism. It has not yet been accepted as the policy of the Government. The formal answer of the Egyptian Delegation has not been made, but Zaghlul Pasha gave an interview on March 7, at Paris, in which he asserted that the Egyptian nation could never accept a settlement such as that suggested in the report. As a statement of Egypt's demands he referred to a draft treaty submitted by the Egyptian Delegation to Lord Milner, on July 19, 1920. The text of that treaty, never before published, will appear in the International Relations Section following the report of the Milner Mission.

## The British Report on Egypt

### I. Work of the Mission in Egypt

The dispatch of a Special Mission to Egypt had been under the consideration of His Majesty's Government since April, 1919, when the prevailing unrest in that country had culminated in manifestations of violence and disorder; and in May the announcement was made that such a Mission, under the chairmanship of Lord Milner, would proceed thither in the autumn. The openly avowed intention of the Egyptian Nationalists to organize a boycott of the Mission received great encouragement from the protest of Mohammed Said Pasha, the Prime Minister, against its arrival before the peace with Turkey had been signed, and was intensified after his resignation, which followed the overruling of his protest. Mohammed Said Pasha was succeeded as Prime Minister by Wahba Pasha, and the new Ministry was in office during the whole of our stay in Egypt.

Wahba Pasha himself has since resigned, owing to ill-health, and his place has been taken by Tewfik Nessim Pasha, one of his colleagues, who, during our stay in Egypt, was Minister of the Interior. The courage and patriotism of these two Prime Ministers and of their colleagues in taking office at a time when their country was passing through so grave a crisis, and when their own lives were daily in danger, cannot be too highly commended. Tewfik Nessim Pasha's Ministry, which is still in office, consists, with one exception, of the same men as Wahba Pasha's and is of the same character. It is a Ministry of affairs, composed of capable administrators, loyal to the Sultan and working harmoniously with the British High Commissioner, but of no distinct political color and indisposed to take any decided line with regard to the burning question of the future of Egypt.

The change of Ministry in Egypt, and other circumstances, caused the departure of the Mission to be delayed until the end of November. We arrived at Port Said on the morning of Sunday, December 7, and in Cairo on the afternoon of the same day. In view of the general attitude of hostility to the Mission, which had been sedulously fostered, every precaution was taken for our security, and we reached the hotel where quarters had been prepared for our reception without incident. The day after our arrival we were all presented by Lord Allenby to His Highness, the Sultan, a formal visit, which had been preceded by a short audience of a more intimate kind which he had accorded to Lord Milner. This was the first of a number of conversations which, during our stay in Egypt, our chairman and other members of the Mission had with His Highness, who always treated us with great friendliness. In these conversations he expressed himself freely about the political situation in Egypt, the events of the last few years, and the difficulties of his own position. But he carefully abstained from giving any advice with regard to the subject of our reference, viz., the future constitution of Egypt. Beyond warning us to be slow in forming conclusions and on our guard against busybodies, and indicating certain men of position whom it would be well for us to consult—such as Rushdi Pasha, Adli Pasha, Mohammed Said Pasha, and Mazlum Pasha, all of them ex-Ministers—he never attempted in any way to guide or influence our deliberations. His attitude, as far as the main object of the Mission was concerned, was one of studied reserve.

This reserve was even more marked in the case of the Ministers, Wahba Pasha and his colleagues, to whom we were introduced at a party given by Lord Allenby at the Residency on December 11, and with whom throughout our stay in Egypt we maintained very cordial relations. They were at all times ready to assist us in our inquiries, to put every sort of information at our disposal, and to bring us into touch with any officials whom we desired to see. There was never any doubt of their willingness to give us every opportunity of becoming acquainted with the mechanism of government or the state of the country. But they were particularly careful to leave us to form our own conclusions. Though freely invited to do so, they were not disposed to make any suggestions of their own on constitutional, as distinct from purely administrative questions, and never evinced any desire to know in what direction the thoughts of the Mission were tending with regard to the future government of Egypt.

In strong contrast with the caution and reserve exhibited by the native official world was the storm of protest and disapprobation with which the arrival of the Mission was greeted by the native public and the native press. We had not been many days, or even hours, in Cairo before we had ample evidence of active and organized antagonism. Telegrams poured in announcing the intention of the senders to go on strike as a protest against our presence. Many of these were dispatched by schoolboys and students, but others came from public bodies, such as provincial councils, a few from government officials, and a considerable number from corporations or communities of greater or less importance. We received in all 1,131 such messages during our stay, while only twenty-nine telegrams of welcome were received, mostly from private persons acquainted with individual members of the Mission. The Egyptian vernacular press, with rare exceptions, exhausted the repertory of vituperation and innuendo, proclaiming that any recognition of the Mission would be interpreted as an acceptance of the existing situation and that any Egyptian who had dealings with its members would be guilty of treason to his country. The majority of writers consistently maintained that Zaghlul Pasha at Paris was the accredited representative of the Egyptian people, and the Mission was recommended to address itself to him. A series of short strikes were declared by students, lawyers, tramwaymen, cab drivers, and shopkeepers, and processions of strikers, reinforced by numbers of schoolboys and the rougher elements of the city, paraded the streets with banners, denouncing the Mission and Lord Milner in particular, and acclaiming Zaghlul Pasha and the "Complete Independence of Egypt." Nor were such demonstrations confined to the male population. The Cairene ladies availed themselves of this occasion to abandon their seclusion and to drive through the streets with similar

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war cries. This procession, however unwonted, was orderly enough, but the schoolboys and hooligans were frankly riotous, and but for the admirable order maintained by the police with occasional military support there would have been considerable destruction of property and even bloodshed. As it was, beyond the wrecking of a few tramcars little damage to property actually resulted. And after the first week or two disorder in Cairo gradually subsided, though throughout our stay occasional attacks upon British soldiers and three successive attempts to assassinate members of the Ministry showed that the criminal element was still active, especially among a section of the student class.

It seems needless to dwell at greater length upon the many manifestations of hostility to the Mission and its object. Mention should, however, be made of two of them, which as indicative of the strength of the popular current appeared to be of special importance. In the second week after our arrival the heads of the El Azhar University, the center of Mohammedan religious teaching, addressed a manifesto to the High Commissioner, which set forth the claims of Egypt to complete independence and demanded the withdrawal of the British. There was some reason to believe that the religious leaders who actually signed this document were not particularly enamoured of the political course on which they thus found themselves embarked, but yielded to the pressure of the teachers and students, among whom anti-British propaganda had for some time been increasingly active. This manifesto was followed a little later by a similar declaration, signed by six Princes of the family of Mohammed Ali, near relatives of the Sultan, which was contained in a letter to Lord Milner and simultaneously published in the press. The action of the Princes may have been prompted by various motives, but the dominant one was undoubtedly their desire to gain popularity by identifying themselves with a movement which at the moment was sweeping like a tidal wave over the country.

The immediate object of the promoters of this movement was to prevent the members of the Mission from coming into friendly touch with representative Egyptians and thus ascertaining for themselves how much substance there was in the demand for "complete independence" and in the ceaseless denunciations of "the Protectorate." With this end in view the headquarters of the Mission were constantly watched by unostentatious pickets. The visit of any Egyptian of note was at once communicated to the press and became the subject of minatory comment. Moreover, the offender was liable to be subjected to a domiciliary visit in his own house from a group of students, demanding an explanation of his conduct, which generally ended in his making a profuse profession of his Nationalist faith and affirming that in his conversation with the Mission he had been careful in no wise to depart from it. Only in one or two cases did the person thus visited have the courage to tell the intruders to mind their own business. Meantime, the movements of members of the Mission were carefully followed, especially when any of us went into the provinces. Emissaries would be immediately dispatched from Cairo to dog our footsteps, to try to prevent our getting into touch with the local people, especially the fellahin, and to arrange demonstrations calculated to impress us with the solidarity of Egyptian opinion. The visit to Tanta of one member of the Mission led to serious riots, which continued for many days and were only quelled by the intervention of the military. These demonstrations naturally to some extent hampered our work. But they certainly failed in their main object, for it was impossible not to come to the conclusion that, if the Egyptians were really so unanimous as we were intended to think, we should have been left to find that out for ourselves by going about the country without let or hindrance.

It must not be supposed that the boycott of the Mission, carried out as it mainly was by students and schoolboys, was approved by educated Egyptians generally, or even by all those who held advanced Nationalist views. Rudeness to strangers appeared to them inconsistent with the courtesy and hospitality upon which all Egyptians pride themselves. Moreover, there were a large number of men who were really anxious to bring their views before the Mission, but were deterred from doing so by fear of the personal annoyance to which they might in consequence be exposed. It was, therefore, suggested to us in many quarters that, if only we would make it clear, that by appearing before the Mission a man did not necessarily compromise his position as a Nationalist, the barrier to free converse would be removed. We accordingly drew up the following declaration, which was published on December 29 in the Official Journal and the press:

"The British Mission has been struck by the existence of a widespread belief that the object of its coming is to deprive Egypt of rights which it has hitherto possessed. There is no foundation whatever for this belief. The Mission has been sent out by the British Government, with the approval of Parliament, to reconcile the aspirations of the Egyptian people with the special interests which Great Britain has in Egypt and with the maintenance of the legitimate rights of all foreign residents in the country.

"We are convinced that with goodwill on both sides this object is attainable, and it is the sincere desire of the Mission to see the relations of Great Britain and Egypt established on a basis of friendly accord which will put an end to friction and will enable the Egyptian people to devote the whole of their energies to the development of their country under self-governing institutions.

"In pursuance of this task the Mission desires to hear all views, whether of representative bodies or individuals who have the welfare of their country at heart. All opinions may be freely expressed. There is no wish on the part of the Mission to restrict the area of discussion nor need any man fear to compromise his convictions by appearing before it. He will be no more compromised by expressing his opinions than the Mission will be compromised by hearing them. Without a perfectly frank discussion it is difficult to put an end to misunderstanding and arrive at agreement."

This declaration certainly had some effect in mitigating hostility, but it did not get over the reluctance of Egyptians generally to enter into formal relations with the Mission. We therefore made up our minds that, as far as Egyptian opinion was concerned, we must rely upon our individual opportunities of social intercourse with men of various classes to elicit it. As such opportunities constantly presented themselves, and as the people whom we thus met and who certainly included most of the leaders of Egyptian opinion expressed their views in private with the greatest frankness and unreserve, we succeeded during the three months of our stay in very thoroughly gauging the main currents of thought and feeling in the Egyptian world.

While a good deal of time was spent in these conversations, we were also busily engaged in studying the situation from an entirely different angle. In addition to the carefully prepared volumes of official documents drawn up for the instruction of the Mission by the Foreign Office, a very considerable amount of valuable evidence had been collected before our arrival by an information committee instituted by the High Commission, which had obtained the considered views, on many issues, of prominent officials, of unofficial residents, and representative bodies. The study and collation of these views, which had been ably edited by the secretary of the committee, Captain B. A. Hooper, occupied some time.

While the perusal of this mass of documents was of the greatest assistance to us, we sought to supplement the information contained in them by getting into personal touch with as many members of the British community, official and unofficial, as we had time to see, as well as with the principal foreign residents, who, of course, had no hesitation about coming into open and constant contact with the Mission. The evidence and advice of the chief British officials were freely available to us from the first, and we are greatly indebted to them for the ready help they gave us. With their aid we were enabled not only to gain

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a fairly comprehensive view of recent events, but to make an exhaustive examination of the organization and personnel of every department of the Egyptian Government. This work was divided up between sub-committees, who reported to the Mission, which also assembled in full strength to hear the views of the highest British officials, as well as those of Sir William Brunyate, the late Acting Financial Adviser to the Egyptian Government, who was present in Cairo during the latter part of our stay. Meantime, the legal member of the Mission, Mr. (now Sir Cecil) Hurst, while cooperating as far as possible in these activities, devoted the greater part of his time to inquiring into the judicial system and the modifications best adapted to bring it into harmony with present requirements. Similarly Sir Owen Thomas, besides serving on one of the sub-committees just referred to, paid special attention to the study of agricultural conditions, and visited a number of estates, public and private, to make himself familiar with the methods of cultivation and the life of the people. The whole Mission, with the exception of one member who was otherwise engaged, passed the inside of a week at Alexandria, where opportunity was afforded us of coming into contact with the important foreign communities of the great commercial center of Egypt. We were there able to hear the views of the French, Italian, and Greek, as well as of the British Chamber of Commerce. Many centers of activity in Upper and Lower Egypt were also visited by individual members of the Mission, who communicated their impressions to their colleagues, and in spite of the endeavors already described to prevent our getting into direct contact with the local population, valuable experience was thus gained and placed on record.

Two of our number, General Sir John Maxwell and Sir Owen Thomas, also paid a visit of several weeks to the Sudan, and the impressions they brought back were a valuable supplement to the information we had already obtained from the evidence of British and native residents in that country, whom we had been able to see in Cairo.

The manifold activities which we have briefly summarized kept us all very busy during the months of January and February. Towards the end of the latter month, as the time available for our inquiries in Egypt was drawing to a close, since several of our members were obliged to be back in England before the end of March, we began to hold a number of meetings for the purpose of collating the information obtained and comparing the views which we had severally formed. It at once became apparent that in view of the immense mass of material and the number of points requiring thorough discussion it would be impossible for us to draw up a report during the remainder of our time in Egypt especially as interviews still occupied a good deal of it. The preparation of our report had, therefore, necessarily to be deferred until after our return to England. At the same time these preliminary discussions revealed a remarkable unanimity between us on certain cardinal points, and we even draw up, before leaving Cairo, though only in outline and subject to such modifications as further discussion might suggest, a series of propositions in which we were all able provisionally to agree.

These propositions ranged over the whole field of our inquiry and have formed the groundwork of the present report. It may, therefore, be convenient at this stage to review the results of our investigations in Egypt and the conclusions to which they had led us.

## II. Provisional Conclusions Arrived at in Egypt

### *Causes of the Recent Disorders and Existing Unrest*

#### 1. Prior to the War

The disorders which broke out in March, 1919, were brought to a climax by specific events connected with the war, but they can by no means be attributed solely to recent or contemporary conditions and the ground had been prepared through a long antecedent period.

It appears to be frequently assumed in current talk and writing in this country that Egypt is a part of the British Empire. This is not and never has been the case.

The "special position" which Great Britain occupies in Egypt dates from her intervention in 1882 to restore order during the Arabi rebellion—an intervention in which the other Powers, though invited, declined to participate. This threw upon her responsibilities which she could not decline, and which could only be discharged by the occupation of the country until at least there was a reasonable certainty that order would be maintained and the lives and property of foreign residents rendered secure. But at that time it was the declared intention of the British Government to evacuate the country so soon as these objects were accomplished, and in 1887 Sir Henry Drummond Wolff was dispatched to Constantinople to prepare the way for evacuation. He drew up a convention with the Sultan whereby Great Britain agreed to withdraw her troops from Egypt at the end of three years provided that there was then no new danger, external or internal, to require their retention, and provided further that she should have the right of reoccupying the country if any such danger arose. It was only at the last moment that the Sultan under foreign pressure withheld his signature and the negotiations fell through.

But though Great Britain remained in Egypt, she did nothing during the next twenty-seven years either to legalize her own position or to disturb the theory that Egypt was an autonomous nationality under the suzerainty of the Sultan of Turkey. Egypt was in theory governed by the Khedive, the Council of Egyptian Ministers, the Egyptian Legislative Council and Assembly; and the British representative was in name merely "Agent and Consul-General," the exponent, like the representatives of other Powers, of the views and wishes of his Government to the Government of Egypt. Though, in virtue of the Army of Occupation and of the numerous duties and responsibilities which circumstances gradually imposed on him, he came to be the real arbiter of the country, he was always studiously careful to observe this theory, and the observance of it was regarded by Egyptians as an implied pledge that the occupying Power did not intend to impair the national status of their country.

It was also so regarded by foreign Powers, and when the Anglo-French Agreement of 1904 was concluded a declaration was signed in London to the following effect:

"His Britannic Majesty's Government declare that they have no intention of altering the political status of Egypt. The Government of the French Republic, for their part, declare that they will not obstruct the action of Great Britain in that country, by asking that a limit of time be fixed for the British occupation or in any other manner."

This understanding would no doubt have served for all practical purposes, if European peace had been maintained. But with the outbreak of war and the entry of Turkey into the war on the side of the enemy, questions of extreme difficulty arose. Egyptians were nominally subjects of the Sultan of Turkey, owing allegiance to him and not to the British Crown. This was obviously an intolerable situation. But the mere abolition of Turkish suzerainty by an act of war would have deprived Egypt of any definite status and left her in the position of a former Turkish dependency in the hands of Great Britain. This difficulty might, of course, have been summarily disposed of by the annexation of Egypt to the British Empire, but the British Government deliberately chose a less drastic course which would afford security to Egypt, while leaving the principle of an Egyptian national entity unimpaired. This was to place Egypt under the protection of Great Britain. A proclamation was accordingly issued in the Official Journal on December 18, 1914:

"His Britannic Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs gives notice that in view of the state of war arising out of the action of Turkey, Egypt is placed under the protection of His Majesty, and will henceforth constitute a British Protectorate.

"The suzerainty of Turkey over Egypt is thus terminated, and His Majesty's Government will adopt all measures neces-

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sary for the defense of Egypt and protect its inhabitants and interests."

On the following day a further proclamation was issued deposing Abbas Hilmi, the then Khedive, on the ground that he had adhered to the King's enemies, and announcing that the succession had been offered to and accepted by His Highness Prince Hussein Kamel, with the title of Sultan of Egypt.

It has been constantly asserted by Egyptian Nationalists that they understood the Protectorate to be merely a war measure, and the defense of Egypt promised under it in the second clause of the proclamation to be limited to defense in the war. The wording of the proclamation seems to us to offer no ground for this interpretation, but the Egyptians were certainly given to understand that efforts would be made at the end of the war to satisfy their national aspirations, and great pains were taken to assure them that their national status was not changed for the worse by the Protectorate. For example, in the telegram which he addressed to Sultan Hussein on his accession to the Sultanate, His Majesty the King used these words:

"On the occasion when your Highness enters upon your high office, I desire to convey to your Highness the expression of my most sincere friendship and the assurance of my unfailing support in safeguarding the integrity of Egypt, and in securing her future well-being and prosperity.

"Your Highness has been called upon to undertake the responsibilities of your high office at a grave crisis in the national life of Egypt, and I feel convinced that you will be able, with the cooperation of your Ministers and the Protectorate of Great Britain, successfully to overcome all the influences which are seeking to destroy the independence of Egypt, and the wealth, liberty, and happiness of its people."

It should be added that Egyptian Nationalists are able to point to a long series of declarations by British statesmen disowning the idea of annexing or even permanently occupying the country, and affirming, in the words of Sir Eldon Gorst, that "the fundamental idea" of the British Government "has been to prepare the Egyptians for self-government, while helping them in the meantime to enjoy the benefit of good government." Englishmen are aware of the circumstances which have till now prevented the fulfilment of these pledges, but they are naturally treasured by Egyptians and too easily made the ground of accusations of bad faith. It is necessary to bear them in mind if we would understand the resentment of Egyptians at the common assumption that Egypt is a British possession or that the Protectorate has naturally made it so.

The situation in Egypt has therefore always remained an abnormal one since the British occupation in 1882. In the initial stages, problems which appeared almost insuperable had been surmounted with remarkable success under an exceptionally able administrator, and as time went on, and the machine appeared superficially to be running smoothly, public opinion in Great Britain ceased to concern itself with the indefinite character of the situation. But in reality a settlement was becoming progressively more urgent the more widely the influence of our presence in Egypt and the introduction of western methods made themselves felt. With the removal of that fear of oppression which in old days had made Egyptians acquiescent and submissive, new impulses and ambitions were inevitably aroused. The Egyptians of 1920, whether townsmen or peasants, are different people from those of 1910, and very different indeed from the Egyptians of 1890. We have never honestly faced the Egyptian problem, and our neglect to do so is in a measure responsible for the present situation.

The regime inaugurated by the late Lord Cromer to redeem a bankrupt administration was never more than a provisional one, because for many years there was no reason to believe that the occupation, which we had in 1887 actually agreed to terminate, would be other than of brief duration. But provisional and extemporized expedients gradually hardened into established institutions and the stronger element in a combination of administrative forces tended to become the dominant one, to acquire powers and responsibilities not originally contemplated, and to restrict the Egyptian element in the public service to a secondary position. The policy pursued in the early days of the occupation had been to engage a restricted number of carefully selected British officials to advise and assist, especially in the finance and irrigation services. A judicial and educational adviser were, in due course, added, and later again an adviser to the interior, with a body of inspectors for the provinces. So long as their numbers were strictly limited and only men of high capacity and experience were appointed, not only was the cooperation of British officials tolerated, but they were themselves regarded with esteem and affection.

As the resources at the disposal of Egypt increased the public services were greatly expanded, and with this expansion the obligation arose concurrently to add to the number of foreign assistants and experts. Thus, with the prolongation of the occupation, the number of British officials in Egypt steadily increased, and the principle that the aim of the administration should be to train and equip Egyptians to manage their own affairs fell into the background. In spite of the fact that Egyptian Ministers have of recent years taken a greater part and a more direct interest in their departments than in the early days of the occupation, when many of them were content with little more than an honorary position, the work of under-secretaries and heads of departments, for the most part non-Egyptian, has become increasingly independent of the Council of Ministers. A growing resentment at the number of posts monopolized by the British was noticed for a long period antecedent to the war. Egyptian officials of long experience and considerable competence felt that they were definitely excluded from rising to the highest positions in view of the system consecrated by prescription that a post once held by a non-Egyptian was, on its becoming vacant, automatically filled by a non-Egyptian. Particular resentment was occasioned in Egypt at the time of the arrival of the Mission by a recent increase in the numbers of the British engaged for the public service. This increase, if it was greatly exaggerated by ill-informed rumor, was nevertheless appreciable, and affected also a few very subordinate offices hitherto filled by natives of the country. It may here be mentioned that the number of British officials has risen from a few hundred in the earlier years of the occupation to upwards of sixteen hundred at the present day, with scales of pay different from those enjoyed by the Egyptians. These higher scales, if amply justified by special circumstances, were readily represented as constituting a grievance.

Another feature of Egyptian life has undoubtedly contributed to the unrest. As British officials have increased in number they have more and more lived apart from the Egyptian community, and their chief residential quarter on the Island of Ghezireh has come to be a self-contained community, furnished, like an Indian cantonment, with a complete equipment for social intercourse, sport, and physical exercise. This has added to the amenities of life for the official class, but it has withdrawn them from society with Egyptians and tended to create a British *enclave* from which Egyptians are excluded. We are aware of the difficulties on both sides which stand in the way of free and unembarrassed relations between men and women of different races and customs, but when the necessary allowance has been made it must, we think, be said that the increasing segregation of the British community, which has been a feature of recent years, has been a cause of estrangement between British and Egyptians and made the fact of an alien occupation more obtrusive than it need have been.

We have noticed with pleasure the cordial and intimate relations which many old residents in Egypt and not a few senior officials and their wives have established with their Egyptian neighbors, and we have seen much evidence of the value and influence of these friendships in the recent times of stress and difficulty. We are convinced that it would greatly help if more efforts were made to cultivate these neighborly relations. The forms and conventions of conduct should be studied and care-

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fully respected by British residents in Egypt and visitors to Egypt. It should be realized, especially by the latter, that altogether disproportionate harm may be done by offenses against good taste which, though trivial in themselves, cause comment and scandal. It should, in general, be the aim of the British residents and visitors to break down the barriers that exist rather than to create new ones, to enter as far as possible into the life of the Egyptian people, to learn enough of their language to make social contact possible and agreeable, and to avoid the minor causes of offense which in the aggregate become mischievous.

On the other hand, a criticism not infrequently heard that the quality of the British officials has deteriorated does not seem to us to be justified. There are many officials of high capacity in Egypt today, as there were in former times men of exceptional and others of only moderate caliber. But the critical sense of the Egyptians has been greatly developed by progress and contact with other countries, and they have become more exacting than the older generation with regard to standards of efficiency.

Again, since the retirement in 1907 of Lord Cromer, there have been no less than five British Agents or High Commissioners, and Egypt has felt herself to some extent a field for successive experiments. The result of these repeated changes, due to the accident of circumstances, tended to increase the independence of the permanent British officials, who were more concerned with departmental efficiency than with questions of policy, while to Egyptian observers they conveyed an impression of uncertainty and instability.

Another contributory cause of the general discontent was the manifest insuccess of educational policy resulting in the production of an unnecessarily large and ever-increasing number of candidates for official posts, provided with examination certificates but destitute of any real educational culture. It was necessary in the initial stage to train a number of young men to such a standard of efficiency as would enable them to undertake clerical duties in state departments which had hitherto been largely performed by non-Egyptians, and to prepare pupils for the higher colleges of medicine, law, and engineering. But here again there seems, until quite recently, to have been little attempt to revise a system adopted under exceptional circumstances or to realize that changing conditions required new methods. Education, for which there is a real and crying demand among the people, remains atrophied. The mass of the population is not only still illiterate, but without social or moral training. The only real education in the higher sense available in the country itself is provided by religious or benevolent institutions, controlled for the most part by the French or Americans, or by the admirable Victoria College, which owes its institution to the British residents at Alexandria. In spite of these criticisms, however, it must be admitted that the general level of instruction has greatly advanced since the early years of the occupation, and that the number of those capable of taking an intelligent interest in public affairs is very much larger today.

Nationalist propaganda has been at work for many years in Egypt. The evolution of a sane and moderate Nationalist spirit might have been regarded with sympathy and interest, and indeed the late Lord Cromer had hopes that it might be turned to good account. But unfortunate political rivalries among the Western Powers led it from the first to assume an anti-British color. The Nationalists were alternately encouraged and opposed by the ex-Khedive for his own personal aims. Their ranks were swelled by the members of a thoroughly dissatisfied civil service, who regarded the presence of the British as a bar to promotion, and who were further discouraged by a system of selection which made it possible for the influential to secure the preferment of relations and dependents. The increasing number of the students who look only to state employment as a reward for the often real sacrifices made in order to qualify for it, and who regard their prospects of obtaining any appointment as diminished by the competition of the foreigner, made them a ready instrument for such propaganda in the provinces.

Finally, there is the latent but ever-present impatience of the Moslem with Christian rule. That a Mohammedan should occupy a position of political subordination to a Christian is opposed to the essential spirit of Islam, and the sentiment which this spirit has engendered survives long after strong religious feeling has been greatly attenuated, or even become altogether extinct. Its existence no doubt exercised an influence in creating a prejudice which the religious element would make the most of against the name of Protectorate, interpreted as implying the permanent subjection of a Mohammedan ruler and state to a Christian sovereign. There is in the East a patriotism of religion which is an even more fundamental sentiment than the patriotism of home and tradition.

### 2. During the War

Such were the influences which had long been active when in 1914 Turkey, the seat of the Caliphate, entered the war as the enemy of the occupying Power, and German agents freely promised the liberation of Egypt from British control after the final victory which they confidently predicted. In these circumstances, and in view of the spirit of hostility toward the occupying Power which had been gathering volume over a number of years, the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief in Egypt was no doubt well advised in the Proclamation announcing the state of war with Turkey to make it clear that Great Britain took upon herself "the sole burden of the present war without calling on the Egyptian people for aid therein." It is, however, only just to record that, whatever may have been the hopes or anticipations raised by the war in a certain section of the Egyptians, the obligations and disabilities which it entailed upon the people were borne with patience and good-will; that the services rendered by the Egyptian Labor Corps were of inestimable value and indispensable to the campaign in Palestine; and that the Sultan's Government supported the British authorities in a spirit of the most cordial cooperation, evidenced among other things by their writing off the suspense account under which Egypt would have been entitled to reclaim advances of three millions sterling.

So far we have only dealt with the causes of unrest in Cairo and the larger centers during the period preceding the riots which broke out in March, 1919. It remains to consider the reasons which affected the fellahin and made them susceptible to nationalist agitation and propaganda.

Unrest among the educated classes in Egypt was, as has already been pointed out, manifest long before the crisis of 1919. But that it should have spread to the fellahin, and should have led to outbreaks of savage violence among a class which has derived such immense benefits from the British occupation needs explaining.

In the first place, it may be laid down that the agitation among the fellahin was of a far more partial character than has been generally supposed, and that disorders were confined to the neighborhood of large centers and to districts along the main lines of communication. In remoter villages, less readily accessible to propagandists and agitators, little disposition was shown by the small farmers to take part in any such movement. Where disorders occurred, it was generally the railways which became the object of aggression, and there is reason to believe that the attacks upon them were carried out in pursuance of a preexisting plan for a German-Turkish attack on the Canal, supported by a simultaneous rising in Egypt. This would account for certain indications of concerted action revealed in the disturbances of March, 1919.

There is some evidence to show that discontent was stimulated by the controlled price of cotton, which denied the cultivator the advantage of competing in foreign markets, while the rent of his land continued to advance. But the more obvious factors arising out of the war to alienate his goodwill were: (*a*) The recruiting for the Egyptian Labor and Camel Transport Corps; (*b*) the requisition of domestic animals; (*c*) the

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requisition of cereals; (*d*) the collections for the Red Cross Fund. In each case it was not so much the measures themselves that were resented as the manner in which they were carried out.

As regards (*a*), the recruiting for the Egyptian Labor and Camel Transport Corps, it seems evident that once enrolled the men were, as a rule, satisfied with the conditions, and that the wages paid were of great benefit to the poorer classes of the population. The hospital accommodation provided for them does not seem to have been altogether satisfactory, and there were evidently among their officers many ignorant of their language and without experience in handling them. But their readiness to reenlist again and again, and the fact that those actually serving gave no trouble during the events of March, 1919, shows that grievances against the service were not serious. So long as the Labor Corps was locally raised from volunteers arrangements worked satisfactorily. There was some discontent at the prolongation of service beyond the contractual period after recruiting was taken over by a military organization. But it was after the voluntary system had ceased to supply a sufficient number of recruits, and when administrative pressure was applied to obtain them, that abuses began. In view of the announcement made at the outbreak of war with Turkey that Egyptians would not be required to take part in it, the voluntary system was maintained in name, but measures of compulsion were applied by the Omdehs, the unpaid administrative officers in the country districts, to whom recruiting was intrusted without supervision by British officials, most of whom had been recalled for duties elsewhere. There is no doubt that unscrupulous Omdehs took advantage of the position, sending their enemies to serve, while letting off their friends, and accepting bribes for exemptions and substitutions. In some cases measures resembling those of the press gang were adopted, and British pressure was asserted as the excuse for them. As to the extent of the abuses there seems to be some conflict of opinion. But they were frequent enough to cause much discontent in certain regions, and gave the political agitator his opportunity.

As regards (*b*), the requisition of domestic animals, though the fellah was often hardly hit by the removal of his means of transport, prices which were good at the time seem to have been paid when the animals were taken. On the other hand the prices at which they could be bought back at the end of the war were often considerably higher. While the fellahin were naturally most unwilling to part with their animals, there does not appear to have been much real ground for grievance on account of these requisitions, inevitable in a state of war. But they naturally would not tend to increase good-will toward those held responsible for them.

A more fertile source of discontent was (*c*), the requisition of cereals. Owing to the demand for the army prices advanced, and market rates were considerably higher than requisition rates. Districts were assessed to furnish a given quantity, and the collection was left to local officials, who derived large profits from the transaction. Not only did Omdehs collect larger amounts than they were required to furnish at requisition rates and sell the balance at the higher market rate, but individuals who possessed no wheat had to buy their quota at market rates and hand it over at the lower requisition rate. The process of verification and repayment was slow, and it appears to be substantiated from the evidence submitted that the provincial officials retained the sums received to make payments in their own hands for long periods, and that Omdehs and Sheikhs who were intrusted with sums in bulk for distribution in many cases held back a portion of these moneys. The local officials were mainly responsible for the abuses which occurred, but they were attributed to the British who, under the exceptional conditions prevailing, were unable to control them.

As regards (*d*), the collections for the Red Cross Fund, these were organized locally by Egyptian Mamurs and Omdehs, and while intended to be voluntary, were, in practice, frequently made compulsory by officials seeking to acquire merit by the amounts which their districts contributed. There was a current belief in the country that only a portion of the total amount collected reached its real destination. It is open to question whether it was prudent or opportune, under the special conditions prevailing in Egypt, where the opposition of Cross and Crescent was inevitably emphasized, to do more than notify the opening of a fund for the aid of the wounded, to which many wealthy Egyptians and resident foreigners would no doubt have responded. To intrust the collection to local Egyptian officials was inevitably to open the door to abuses, entailing additional pressure on the poorer classes, with whom many other circumstances made the war unpopular. It should be added that the Joint Committee of the British Red Cross and the Order of St. John, after the close of the war, assigned upwards of a £100,000 for the relief of victims of the war in the Egyptian Labor Corps and their families.

In addition to the specific grievances, to which attention has been drawn, there was in Egypt also an unprecedented and progressive rise in prices, especially the necessaries of life, such as corn, clothing, and fuel, which weighed heavily on the poorer classes, whose wages were quite inadequate to meet the enhanced cost of living, while they saw a limited number of their countrymen and the unpopular foreigner making large fortunes. A family of four—a man, his wife, and two small children—could not at the beginning of 1919 obtain a sufficiency of food except at a cost which considerably exceeded the ordinary rate of wages.

These various factors had contributed by the end of 1918 to create a condition of discontent and unrest among the fellahin and some loss of confidence in the benefits of British administration. There was thus a favorable field in which the agitator could work. The fellah had seen no British officials for a long period, and none had intervened to protect him from inequitable demands. Even before the war the once familiar figure of the British inspector riding through the fields and stopping to listen to the small farmer's claims and grievances had almost disappeared, and motor-cars conveyed the hurried official from one administrative center to another. His disappearance made it easier to believe reports which were spread of the imminent departure of the British, when the land would be divided among the fellahin, with an unrestricted water supply and no taxation. There is also reason to believe, though there are no grounds for suspecting the leaders of the Nationalist Party of their inspiration, that highly-colored and wholly imaginary accounts of outrages committed on native women by British soldiers and murderous assaults on the villages were circulated by unprincipled agitators, and that a spirit of vindictive resentment was thus aroused, which culminated in the brutal murders of British soldiers at Deirut.

The death of Sultan Hussein in 1917 had removed from the scene a ruler of character and ability, who thoroughly understood his own countrymen. He had accepted the onerous position of the first Sultan of Egypt as a not too welcome duty, and had loyally and courageously cooperated in the difficult task of administering a Moslem state in occupation by a Christian Power at war with the sovereign who represented the Caliphate of Islam. He had to a great extent lived down the unpopularity which his substitution for his nephew had at first aroused, and enjoyed the general regard of all classes. His successor, who had been educated in Italy, found himself from the first in a much weaker position as regards his own countrymen, on whom he had as yet little hold. With the best will in the world, therefore, he could have little influence in stemming the rising tide of anti-British sentiment which was gathering strength.

### 3. After the War

In the preceding pages we have endeavored to describe the internal situation in Egypt up to the concluding phases of the war. It will now be more readily understood why the principles enunciated by President Wilson and approved by the Allies produced an immediate and decisive effect on Egyptian opinion.

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The acceptance of the idea of self-determination appeared to give international sanction to sentiments which had long been maturing among the educated classes.

Those in Egypt who had anticipated, and would at one time even have welcomed, a German and Turkish victory, now found a favorable opportunity for shifting their ground. This section now claimed that by contributing morally and materially to the victory of the Allies Egypt had herself been instrumental in throwing off all that was left of the Turkish yoke.

At the same time the voice of moderate opinion in Egypt also began to urge that the time had come to assert a claim to self-government consistent with the repeated declarations of British statesmen regarding the provisional character of our intervention. It was genuinely felt that the attitude of the country as a whole during the war, the cooperation of the Sultan and his Ministers, and the conspicuous sacrifices which the Egyptian people had been called upon to make, entitled them to the particular consideration of Great Britain. The idea of definitely regulating the relations between Great Britain and Egypt had, indeed, already been mooted by Rushdi Pasha, the Prime Minister, at the end of 1917.

This movement received great encouragement from the publication, in the beginning of November, 1918, of the Anglo-French declaration regarding Syria and Mesopotamia, which announced that Great Britain and France contemplated the complete and definite enfranchisement of the peoples liberated from Turkish oppression and the institution among them of national governments deriving their authority from the initiative and free choice of the people themselves. The High Commissioner (Sir R. Wingate) did not fail to point out that the policy indicated in this declaration would have its repercussion in Egypt. Moreover, the Egyptians had recently witnessed the establishment of an independent kingdom in Arabia, which they had always regarded as far behind their own half-occidentalized country in civilization and development.

At the very moment when these ideas were being widely discussed, public opinion was greatly stirred by the revelation of a confidential memorandum which was interpreted as denying to Egypt the privileges of self-government advocated for other less advanced communities. A special commission to consider constitutional reform had been nominated at the beginning of 1918, and Sir Wm. Brunyate, the Acting Financial Adviser, was requested by this commission to draw up a note to serve as a basis for their discussions. He was invited, in particular, to examine the principle of giving the foreign colonies some share in the legislation of the country, which might render more acceptable to the Powers the surrender of the practical veto exercized by them under the Capitulations over a considerable field of legislation. Sir Wm. Brunyate's note gave great offense to the Prime Minister, to whom it was presented in the middle of November, 1918, and though intended only as a basis for confidential discussion, its contents became generally known. A storm of protest was aroused by a project which was interpreted as assigning only consultative functions to an Egyptian Legislative Assembly, while bestowing all legislative power on a Senate in which the officially nominated members and a group of elected foreigners would constitute the majority.

Simultaneously with the commission above referred to, another commission had been sitting for many months to consider the judicial reforms which would become necessary in the event of the abolition of the Capitulations. Although this commission had issued no report, a general impression prevailed that it contemplated the supersession of the Mixed Tribunals by new courts in which the English language and British legal procedure would predominate—a measure which would entail disabilities on the native Bar and paralyze the foreign advocates who had hitherto used the French language. This assumption tended to confirm the hostility of the legal profession to any extended affirmation of British control.

On November 13, 1918, Zaghlul Pasha, with two other leaders of the advanced Nationalist group, paid a visit to the High Commissioner and expressed their desire to go to London in order to put forward a program of "complete autonomy" for Egypt. Simultaneously, the Prime Minister, Rushdi Pasha, proposed that he should himself, together with Adli Pasha Yeghen, the Minister of Education, proceed to London to discuss the affairs of Egypt, a plan which he stated had the full approval of the Sultan. The contention of these Ministers was that the Peace Congress would give official consecration to the Protectorate, and that therefore its nature could not be left undefined. Under the Turkish suzerainty Egypt had had certain rights, and they desired to know what their rights would be as against Great Britain under the Protectorate.

Sir R. Wingate reported these proposals to the Foreign Office, and was informed in reply that "no useful purpose would be served by allowing Nationalist leaders to come to London," and that the visit of the two Ministers would not be "opportune" at that moment. The Foreign Secretary explained that, owing to the fact that he and other Ministers would be absent from London in connection with the peace negotiations, they would "not be able to devote sufficient time and attention to problems of Egyptian internal reform." In these circumstances the Ministers were invited to "defer their visit." Rushdi Pasha gave the High Commissioner to understand that he regarded the refusal of His Majesty's Government to give him an immediate hearing as involving an interpretation of the meaning of the Protectorate to which he could not agree and tendered his resignation. There were no doubt obvious difficulties in the way of discussing such questions with the Egyptian Ministers at a moment of high political pressure, when the Peace Conference was about to open, but it would appear that in spite of the insistence with which the High Commissioner appealed for their reception, the real urgency of dealing with the Egyptian problem at that critical moment had not been realized.

Every effort was made to induce Rushdi Pasha to withdraw his resignation, and a prospective date for the eventual visit of the Ministers was indicated. But the position of the Nationalists had now become so strong in Egypt that the Ministers were only willing to go if Zaghlul Pasha and his friends were allowed to do the same. As it was not considered expedient to permit this, they adhered to their resignation, and the High Commissioner was instructed to come to England himself to report on the situation.

The result of these events was that a number of the Moderate Party joined the advanced Nationalists, who now advocated a more far-reaching policy, while their agents initiated a violent anti-British campaign throughout the country, where, owing to the calls of the flag, only a relatively small number of British officials remained.

While the proposed visit of Egyptian Ministers to London was still under consideration in the beginning of 1919, a document was addressed to the foreign representatives and residents in Egypt announcing the constitution of a "Delegation" of twelve members, under the chairmanship of Zaghlul Pasha, which proposed to lay the legitimate aspirations of Egypt before other countries. The majority of the Delegation were identical with those included in a Nationalist committee of fourteen formed at the end of the preceding year.

On March 3 the Delegation above referred to presented to the Sultan a petition which was generally interpreted as an attempt to intimidate His Highness and deter him from appointing a new Government. This proceeding was felt to be a challenge which could not be declined, and Sir Milne Cheetham, acting for the High Commissioner, decided with the approval of the British Government to deport Zaghlul Pasha and three of his most active adherents to Malta. This gave rise to renewed agitation and protest, beginning with anti-British demonstrations on the part of students in Cairo which quickly necessitated military intervention. Similar outbreaks were soon reported from the provinces. On March 12 disturbances broke out at Tanta and were quelled by the military, not, however, without bloodshed. By March 14 and 15 the trouble had spread to most of the

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Delta provinces, where attempts to interrupt communications had become general. Looting, pillaging, attacks on British troops, and murders of British soldiers and civilians were reported from many quarters. On the 16th the railway and telegraphic communication between Cairo and the Delta, as well as with Upper Egypt, was broken. By the 18th the provinces of Behera, Gharbia, Menufia, and Dakhalia were in a state of open revolt. Upper Egypt and the foreigners living there were completely cut off, while the fanaticism of the insurgents culminated the same day in the murder at Deirut of two British officers and five other ranks and of an English Inspector of Government Prisons in the Assiut-Minia train. By March 26, however, the situation, from a purely military point of view, had become stabilized. The main railway and telegraphic communications had been reestablished and the necessary dispositions of troops had been made for their adequate protection. Mobile columns had been moved in various directions to control the more violent areas, to arrest and bring to justice those responsible for the excesses, and to reestablish civil control. The outlying centers of disturbance in the south had been relieved and the first and most dangerous phase of the disorders was over.

Thus, within a week from the deportation of Zaghlul Pasha and his associates, a movement anti-British and even anti-European had assumed grave proportions. It was a national movement backed by the sympathy of all classes and creeds among the Egyptian population, including the Copts, and on the part of its more fanatical adherents it took the form of the systematic destruction of property and communications, with an increasing disregard for human life. Responsible though the Delegation undoubtedly was for the organization of the original demonstrations out of which the movement grew, its more responsible members soon became alarmed at the development of a situation which rapidly passed out of their control and fell into the hands of irresponsible extremists, supported by a certain number of undesirable foreign elements.

The Commander-in-Chief in Egypt, Field-Marshal Lord Allenby, had left to join the Peace Conference at Paris on March 12. He was, however, back again in Cairo by the 25th, having been in the meantime appointed Special High Commissioner during the absence of Sir R. Wingate, the High Commissioner, in England. His instructions were to "restore law and order" and "to administer in all matters as may be required by the necessity of maintaining the King's Protectorate on a secure and equitable basis." The military measures which had been taken had rendered the situation outwardly calm. But there was little diminution of anti-British sentiment, which was now chiefly manifested against the military element, whose behavior during the repression of disorder was speciously misrepresented. Lawyers and students continued to strike, and many officials absented themselves from their duties.

The conciliatory disposition adopted by the Special High Commissioner in addressing a group of notables who visited him by invitation did not prevent the outbreak on April 2 of a general strike, which had, however, practically subsided by the 6th. Meanwhile, in pursuance of his policy of conciliation, Lord Allenby, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, completely removed the embargo on the departure of Egyptians desiring to travel, a measure which carried with it the release from Malta of Zaghlul Pasha and his three associates. Thus, within a month of their deportation, the policy then adopted was reversed, and the leaders of the movement became free either to return to Egypt or to proceed elsewhere to renew their campaign of agitation.

Such, in brief, was the course of events in the first four months of the year 1919. It is obvious, after the event, that Egyptian Ministers should have been encouraged to come to London when they proposed to do so, and Sir Reginald Wingate, whose advice on this subject was fully justified by the sequel, would have done well, in our opinion, to urge his views with even greater insistency. After this initial mistake events moved more rapidly in Egypt than the Administration appear to have realized. The consequences of deporting the Nationalist leaders were not rightly estimated, and the revoking of that measure, after serious disturbances had taken place, necessarily gave the impression that British policy was wavering and liable to quick changes under the pressure of agitation. In the next stage, punitive measures for the murder of British officers and other outrages committed during the rebellion became a necessity, and though carried out on the whole with moderation, they inevitably prolonged the period of exasperation. The Administration endeavored to conciliate Egyptian sentiment by transferring a large number of the trials, after the most urgent cases had been dealt with by martial law, to the ordinary tribunals, but by this time Nationalist opinion had hardened, and the almost invariable result was that evidence ceased to be forthcoming and that the accused were acquitted. In the meantime, Zaghlul Pasha and his colleagues had, on their release from Malta, proceeded to Paris, in the hope of obtaining a hearing for Egypt's claim to independence from the Peace Conference.

On failing to achieve this object, they devoted all their energies to obtaining foreign support for their cause, and an emissary was dispatched to America to canvass opinion in the United States. At the same time, their adherents in Egypt worked with the greatest industry to complete their organization, collecting large sums of money and extending their propaganda to all parts of the country. Their activities in this latter sphere were largely concentrated upon the exploitation of the existing conditions of industrial unrest, resulting in a succession of more or less serious strikes. By this time it had been announced that the British Government intended to send the Special Mission to Egypt, but, having made up their minds that its object would be the extinction of Egyptian nationality, the agitators concentrated their attention on limiting the sphere of its activities by an organized boycott.

### *The Nationalist Movement and Egyptian Aspirations*

Enough has been said to explain the rapid growth of the Nationalist movement. It is more difficult to give, within a reasonable compass, a correct and at the same time intelligible analysis of its real nature and objects.

It has been said that "every Egyptian worth his salt is at heart a Nationalist." This is only true of the educated and semi-educated classes, who constitute less than 10 per cent of the fourteen million inhabitants of Egypt. It would be meaningless as applied to the 92 per cent of illiterates and especially to the fellahin, who are two-thirds of the whole people. The turbulent crowds of the great towns may indeed be easily worked up to excitement by political catchwords, which they vociferate without understanding. But the fellahin, as a body, are normally very indifferent to politics. They are a primitive peasantry, living on the land and by the land, to which they are passionately devoted, and from which, though working with rude instruments and with little aid from agricultural science, they raise by their matchless industry and perfect knowledge of the soil those wonderful crops which are the bed-rock of Egyptian prosperity. Their whole interest in life centers in these crops and in the regular supply of Nile water, without which their fields would be barren. But while their outlook remains limited their independence has developed, and they are far more tenacious of their rights than in the old days of despotism.

The fellahin, when left alone, are not unfriendly to the British. No doubt they do not love any foreigner, and as fervent Moslems they start with a certain antipathy to any Christian. But in the case of the British these initial prejudices have to a large extent been overcome by experience of the integrity and kindliness of the general run of British officials and by the manifest improvement which their presence has wrought in the condition of rural Egypt. It is true that a new generation, which has never known the evils of the old regime, is less grateful to us than were their fathers, by whom these evils were vividly remembered. But the fellahin, though much less helpless and

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submissive than in former times, have still cause to dread the rapacity of landowners and the bullying and extortion of a good number of native officials, and against these dangers they feel that British influence affords them a certain protection. Those unfortunate incidents of the war period, to which we have already alluded, shook for a time their confidence in our justice and good will, and were predisposing causes of the savage outbreak of anti-British feeling in the spring of 1919. But these excesses were abnormal and short-lived. Except where they are directly stirred up by agitation from the towns, the fellahin appear to be more reasonably well disposed to those British people whom they know and who know how to handle them. We were greatly struck by the evidence of a number of our countrymen, official and unofficial, living in close contact with the Egyptian peasantry, who affirmed that the bitter feeling of the last year or two has now subsided, and that Englishmen who conducted themselves properly were as welcome as ever in the countryside.

But it is idle to hope that the comparatively satisfactory attitude of the peasantry will long be maintained if our relations with the middle and upper classes of their countrymen continue as strained as at present. Nationalism has, for the time being at any rate, established complete dominance over all that is vocal and articulate in Egypt. From the Princes of the Sultan's family down to the children of the primary schools, the men of property, the professional men, the religious teachers, the *literati*, the journalists, the students and school-boys have all, more or less willingly, been swept into the Nationalist movement. Most serious of all perhaps, it now permeates the official class and the upper ranks of the army. Discipline and official decorum may prevent their sympathies finding open expression—the attitude of Egyptian officials towards the Mission was always courteous and correct—but in their hearts they are mostly strong Nationalists, and the influence radiating from them is all in the same direction. It is inconceivable that the sentiment of their social superiors of every class, of all the men who make opinion, should not in the long run profoundly affect the mass of the people.

No doubt nationalism as a political creed has little attraction for these unlettered millions, though they can easily be taught to repeat its catchwords. But then it is not so much by abstract political arguments that the extremist agitator seeks to win their support, as by the constant vilification of everything British and by subtly attributing every local disaster and every personal grievance to the malignity or incompetence of British officials. This campaign of mendacious denigration is carried on by many agencies, by preachers in the mosques, by country-bred students returning for the holidays, by all but a few organs of the Arabic press. It is true that the fellah cannot as a rule read himself, but he can always be read to, and if everything that is spoken or written to influence him points the same way, the falsehoods so sedulously instilled cannot fail ultimately to poison his mind.

We make allowance for the fact that at the time of our visit anti-British clamor was exceptionally intense. It was no doubt artificially stimulated by the more extreme section in order to impress us. And no man of any experience in such matters would mistake the extravagances of a political agitation at fever pitch for the deliberate expression of the mind of a people. But it is a significant fact that, while many Egyptians undoubtedly disapproved of the excesses of this agitation, very few who were not compelled to do so by their official position made any effort to stem them. Men of standing, whatever their personal views, were much too nervous of appearing to be out of sympathy with national "aspirations" to exercise any moderating or restraining influence. No one would have dared to say that he was in favor of the "Protectorate," or that he was not in favor of "complete independence." To all outward appearance, independent opinion was solidly Nationalist. And in our judgment it is likely to remain so.

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